Isaac Watts and Philip Doddridge: Letters, Lectures and Lives in Eighteenth-Century Dissenting Culture

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I confirm that this is my own work and that use of material from other sources has been fully acknowledged.

Abstract

Isaac Watts (1674-1748) and Philip Doddridge (1702-1751) were among the most frequently published religious writers of the eighteenth century and each man's identity as a Protestant dissenter was an important aspect of his intellectual reputation. This thesis draws on letters, lecture notes, manuscript accounts of academies, and a range of printed texts and paratexts to explore the connections between dissent, education and publishing in the eighteenth century. It emphasises the importance Watts, Doddridge and their associates attached to personal relationships in their private interactions and in print.

The first chapter describes how Doddridge developed the educational scheme of his own tutor, John Jennings, and it examines the use of lectures attributed to Doddridge at other academies in order to determine how his methods were adapted by later tutors. Chapter two provides publishing histories of Doddridge's three major posthumous works, *The Family Expositor*, *A Course of Lectures* and 'Lectures on Preaching'. It emphasises the collaborative nature of these editing projects, and contains completely new information on relations between booksellers and copyright holders in the eighteenth century. Chapter three describes the content and rhetoric of Isaac Watts's educational writings, his editorial roles, and the process of publishing his collected *Works* after his death in order to examine the creation of a place for dissenting modes of learning in eighteenth-century culture. The final chapter surveys published biographies of Watts and Doddridge. The difficulties of smoothing over the more controversial elements of each man's activities are explored and competing claims over the memory of Watts are investigated. The chapter examines biographical compendia and denominational magazines to consider the uses of print by dissenters into the nineteenth century.

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Abbreviations

Add. MS	Additional manuscript
BBC	Bristol Baptist College
Biographia Britannica	*Biographia Britannica: or, the Lives of the Most Eminent Persons who have Flourished . . . from the Earliest Ages, to the Present Times*, 2nd edn, ed. A. Kippis, 6 vols. (London, 1778-95)
BL	British Library
Cal.	G. F. Nuttall, *A Calendar of the Correspondence of Philip Doddridge* (London, 1979)
CHCN	Castle Hill United Reformed Church, Northampton
CHBB, V	*The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume V: 1695-1830*, ed. Michael F. Suarez S.J. and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge, 2009)
Course of Lectures (1763)	Philip Doddridge, *A Course of Lectures on the Principal Subjects of Pneumatology, Ethics and Divinity*, ed. S. Clark (London, 1763)
Course of Lectures (1794)	Philip Doddridge, *A Course of Lectures on the Principal Subjects of Pneumatology, Ethics and Divinity*, ed. A. Kippis, 2 vols. (London, 1794)
Doddridge, *Works*	*The Works of the Rev. P. Doddridge, D.D.*, ed. E. Williams and E. Parsons, 10 vols. (Leeds, 1802-05)
DWL	Dr Williams's Library, London
Humphreys	Philip Doddridge, *The Correspondence and Diary of Philip Doddridge,* ed. J. D. Humphreys, 5 vols. (London, 1829-31)

HMCO	Harris Manchester College, Oxford
JRUL	The John Rylands University Library, the University of Manchester
MHS	Massachusetts Historical Society
Monthly Repository	*The Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature*
NCL	New College, London. The collection is now at Dr Williams's Library
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
Orton, *Memoirs*	Job Orton, *Memoirs of the Life, Character and Writings of the Late Philip Doddridge, D.D.* (Shrewsbury, 1766)
TNA: PRO	The National Archives: Public Records Office
Watts, *Works*	*The Works of the Late Reverend and Learned Isaac Watts, D.D.*, ed. P. Doddridge and D. Jennings, 6 vols. (London, 1753)

Notes on transcription, letters and dates

A note on transcription

This thesis contains many quotations from manuscripts. These have been transcribed in such a way as to correspond to the original as closely as is feasible in the medium of type. Original spelling and punctuation, and crossings out as they appear in the manuscripts have been retained throughout. Words added as an afterthought above the original line of text have been given between carats in the form: ^word^. Words and letters missing through a tear or obscured by a blot are given in angle brackets. Contractions remain unexpanded, unless the meaning is unclear. In such cases, the missing letters in other contracted words are supplied in square brackets, as are explanatory words.

A note on letters

References to Doddridge's correspondence appear throughout this thesis. There are three printed sources: a selection of his letters, edited by Thomas Stedman and published in 1793; an edition of his correspondence published between 1829 and 1831 by his great-grandson, John Doddridge Humphreys; and a calendar of his correspondence produced by G. F. Nuttall in 1979 (*Cal*.). The last of these is the most reliable source, and contains letters which do not appear in either of the earlier editions. Both Stedman's and Humphreys's editions conform to different editorial standards from those expected today; in particular, Humphreys sometimes changes dates of letters or merges two letters into one. For a study of Humphreys's changes to manuscript letters, see *Cal*., Appendix I: 'Examples of variation in transcribing'. This thesis refers to manuscript letters whenever possible, but sometimes a printed edition of correspondence is the only extant source for a particular letter. In such cases, all available printed versions of the letter have been compared. In references, the letter number from *Cal*. is always given. If the quotation given is from either of the printed correspondence editions, an abbreviated reference to that work is provided. The manuscript reference number is only given when the document has been consulted; when this has not been possible, only the reference to *Cal.* is given.

A note on dates

In the body of the thesis, new style dates are used. Where a letter (manuscript or printed) or preface has been dated in the old style, this is indicated in the citation, for example: 28 February 1748/9.

Introduction

Dissent and the conduct of friendship and learning

> I cannot but think that whenever I have been so happy as to converse with you, my countenance must have discovered the inward pleasure which diffused itself over my mind on the occasion . . . I persuade myself, Sir, that your prayers are sometimes ascending with mine, in supplications that the great Author of knowledge and grace may impart to me those talents, and that piety, which such an important station requires, and thus succeed my attempts for the edification of the church, and the glory of our common Lord. I hope, indeed, Sir, if God should continue my life, to find in you a counsellor and a friend![1]

In 1731, when Philip Doddridge wrote these words to Isaac Watts, he had been installed in the 'important station' of academy tutor for almost two years, and acquainted with Watts for only slightly longer. In the summer of 1729, Doddridge had begun to lead a group of young men through an academic course intended to prepare them for life as dissenting ministers. The course was based on the one Doddridge himself had followed several years earlier. He had sought the advice and approval of the celebrated hymnodist and educational writer Isaac Watts before beginning his work as a tutor, and thus began a friendship which was to last almost twenty years. These two dissenting ministers shared a strong sense of the importance of appropriate intellectual training for religious understanding, and a hope for the 'edification of the church' drove their publishing and ministerial projects. Doddridge valued Watts's professional and intellectual guidance, and he often articulated this in ways that would both register and activate an emotional response, such as his recollection of conversations with Watts in which he imagines his 'inward pleasure' was manifested on his face. The terms in which Doddridge attests his hope for continued friendship with Watts express his sense of the close association between the emotionally engaging mode of religious experience advocated by Watts and their own relationship.

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[1] Philip Doddridge to Isaac Watts, 5 April [or May] 1731. Humphreys, III, 73-74; *Cal*. 357. Another printed version of this letter gives May 1731 as the date. There are small differences between the two versions of the letter in wording, but the content and Doddridge's sentiments are the same in each: see *The Posthumous Works of the Late Learned and Reverend Isaac Watts . . . Adjusted and Published by a Gentleman of the University of Cambridge*, 2 vols. (London, 1779), II, 25-8.

Such declarations of friendship and religious feeling were appropriately located in a letter, for a degree of informality was acceptable in documents which substituted for face-to-face communication between friends. The hyperbole of Doddridge's encomium of Watts is characteristic of his epistolary style – his friend Obadiah Hughes had several years previously noted that 'I find flattery is your darling sin' – but Doddridge's effusive tone articulates the importance he attached to the goal he shared with Watts of promoting both the dissenting interest and practical piety to the widest audiences possible.[2] In this letter, Doddridge also describes the use 'poor people, who work for their living' make of Watts's hymns, saying 'your psalms and hymns were almost their daily entertainment'.[3] Encouraging people from all backgrounds to embrace Protestant Christianity was central to Watts's and Doddridge's project of contributing to 'the edification of our church, and the glory of our common Lord', and this thesis examines a range of their teaching endeavours and published writings to investigate the ways in which they did this.

Surviving letters (both printed and in manuscript) provide insight into the nature of the friendship between these two individuals and among other dissenters. This thesis argues that personal connections among dissenters strongly influenced their educational culture and the content and circulation of their works in manuscript and print. In considering letters, lecture notes and printed texts together, this study moves away from the traditional scope and methods of those investigations which examine dissenters' legal status, their religious positions, or their participation in philosophical developments.[4] As the legal situation of dissenters had an impact on their educational culture, however, it is an important context to this study.

[2] Obadiah Hughes to Philip Doddridge, 24 September 1726. Humphreys, II, 169; *Cal*. 223.
[3] Philip Doddridge to Isaac Watts, 5 April [or May] 1731. Humphreys, III, 74-5; *Cal*. 357.
[4] Examples of such studies include: James E. Bradley, *Religion, Revolution and English Radicalism: Nonconformity in Eighteenth Century Politics and Society* (Cambridge, 1990); Alan P. F. Sell, *Philosophy, Dissent and Nonconformity 1689-1920* (London, 2003); *Science and Dissent in England 1688-1945*, ed. Paul Wood (Aldershot, 2004); *Joseph Priestley: Scientist, Philosopher, and Theologian*, ed. Isabel Rivers and David L. Wykes (Oxford, 2008); *Religion, Politics and Dissent, 1660-1832: Essays in Honour of James E. Bradley*, ed. Robert D. Cornwall and William Gibson (Aldershot, 2010).

1. Defining dissent, describing academies

In eighteenth-century England, those opposed to state intervention in religious matters and who chose to exclude themselves from the Anglican religious establishment were known as dissenters.[5] They traced their history back to the Reformation, but their more immediate antecedents were the considerable number of clerics who lost their livings as a consequence of the religious settlement which followed the restoration of Charles II to the throne in 1660, and who faced persecution until the accession of William III in 1688.[6] Dissenters in the eighteenth century still felt a close association with nonconformists of that era, and this was commonly expressed in personal, political and intellectual terms. The example of Watts highlights the personal dimension of dissenters' self definition. He was born in penal times and his father was imprisoned for nonconformity. The image of young Isaac being suckled by his mother on the steps of the prison in Southampton (which continues to figure in biographical presentations of him) became symbolic of dissenters' familial loyalty and fortitude in the face of persecution. The politico-religious resonances of 5 November were nationally important, but had particular significance for dissenters. William of Orange's arrival in England in 1688, and the thwarting of the Catholic plot to burn down Parliament in 1605 were marked by a fast day on which commemorative sermons which emphasised God's support for Protestant England were preached. In the intellectual realm, the rich tradition of nonconformist writing was celebrated, and writers such as Richard Baxter were cherished as intellectual and religious forebears. In Hanoverian England,

[5] Dissenters made up approximately 6% of the population though there were much larger concentrations in cities such as London, Manchester and Bristol. See Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1978-97), I, 269-89; note particularly the chart which shows the 'Total number of Dissenters in eighteenth-century England' to be over 330,000 (270) and that of 'Dissenting congregations in urban and rural areas' (286). Technically, 'dissenters' were Protestant nonconformists who agreed to subscribe to thirty-six of the Thirty-Nine Articles and to take the oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance: see Jeremy Black, *Eighteenth-Century Britain, 1688-1783* (2nd edn., 2008), 131. Keeble makes the point that the label 'nonconformist' and later 'dissenter' incorporated a range of different positions: see N. H. Keeble, *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity in the Late Seventeenth Century* (Leicester, 1987), 41-4.

[6] Estimates of the numbers of clergy involved have varied considerably: see David L. Wykes, *'To Revive the Memory of Some Excellent Men:' Edmund Calamy and the Early Historians of Nonconformity* (London, 1997), 7-8, 21. In the eighteenth century, the number was considered to be 2000 or more. In 1924, A. G. Matthews calculated 1760, a figure now widely agreed upon.

dissenters imagined their familial, religious and national identity in terms of a community that reached from the seventeenth century to the present.

Though penal times were in the past, and restrictions on dissenters had been successively eased by William III and George I, dissenters' separation from the establishment was still strongly felt, not least in the sphere of education. Fellows of Oxford and Cambridge colleges were normally ordained clergy, and in 1662, those who could not in conscience accept the terms of the Restoration religious settlement lost their fellowships. These nonconformists imagined the schism would be temporary, and that the English church would soon be reunited. When it became clear that this was not to be the case, nonconformists saw that they must train a new generation of ministers to carry on their religious tradition. Thus academies emerged, which tended at first to be operated by ministers who had previously been university teachers. These informal and furtive establishments often comprised only a couple of students living with or close to a tutor who might have to move or close his academy at short notice.[7] Academies, and the men who ran them, were the target of repressive legislation which was intended to stamp out nonconformity. Following the accession of William and Mary in 1688, legislation enacting religious toleration of 'certain other persons, Dissenters from the Church of England' was passed.[8] The penal legislation remained on the statute books and those trinitarian Christians to whom the Act of Toleration applied – and who referred to themselves as dissenters – were still subject to religious and political disabilities. However, they did now have the freedom to worship and perform their ministry, and academies operated far less covertly. Many dissenters still chose not to attend either of the English universities because subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles was a condition of matriculation at Oxford and graduation at Cambridge, and dissenters could not in conscience subscribe to these articles. It has traditionally been argued that over the course of the eighteenth century, dissenting academies developed into larger, more formal institutions, offering a wider range of subjects, employing a range

[7] H. McLachlan, *English Education Under the Test Acts* (Manchester, 1931), 2.
[8] 'dissenter': *OED* definition 2.b. For a study of the legislation surrounding toleration which emphasises the heterogenous understanding of what toleration entailed, see Nicholas Tyacke, 'The "Rise of Puritanism" and the Legalizing of Dissent, 1571-1719', in *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution in England*, ed. Ole Peter Grell, Jonathan I. Israel and Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford, 1991), 17-49.

of specialist tutors and educating an increasing number of lay students.[9] While this is true, it is important to remember that theological education and the training of the dissenting ministry were the core aim of academies, even those with a markedly liberal approach to education.[10]

Dissenting academies connected the men at the centre of this thesis: Philip Doddridge was primarily known in his lifetime as the tutor of one such academy.[11] He was educated by John Jennings, who had developed a unique educational programme for dissenting ministerial candidates.[12] After Jennings's death, Doddridge circulated accounts of Jennings's academy, which reached Isaac Watts. Doddridge hoped that Watts's encouragement would help his proposed scheme gain widespread support, and Watts's feedback was crucial in determining the early form of his academy.[13] The confessional and familial connections among dissenters were strengthened by institutional and charitable ties: for example, David Jennings, who was the younger brother of John Jennings, was a dissenting tutor and (along with Watts) was a trustee of the Coward Trust, a charitable fund which supported students at Doddridge's academy.[14] He was friends with both Watts and Doddridge. Doddridge's education began with his mentor Samuel Clark, and Clark's son later attended Doddridge's academy. The significance of these connections was felt beyond the dissenting community itself, for students Doddridge had taught were instrumental in disseminating his works and constructing his posthumous reputation. Between them, Samuel Clark junior, Job Orton and Andrew Kippis edited Doddridge's scholarly and educational works, and wrote biographies of him. Watts and Doddridge remained significant figures for later generations of dissenters: though neither Samuel Palmer nor Edward Williams knew Watts or

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[9] Irene Parker, *Dissenting Academies in England* (Cambridge, 1914); Gregory Claeys, 'Virtuous Commerce and Free Theology: Political Economy and the Dissenting Academies 1750-1800', *History of Political Thought*, 20 (1999), 141-72.
[10] David L. Wykes, 'The Contribution of the Dissenting Academy to the Emergence of Rational Dissent', in *Enlightenment and Religion: Rational Dissent in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Knud Haakonssen (Cambridge, 1996), 99-139.
[11] See Isabel Rivers, 'Doddridge, Philip (1702–1751)', *ODNB*.
[12] See David L. Wykes, 'Jennings, John (1687/8–1723)', *ODNB*.
[13] For transcriptions of, and introductions to, a range of documents relating to John Jennings's academy, see 'Dissenting Education and the Legacy of John Jennings, c.1720 – c.1729', ed. Tessa Whitehouse, Dr Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies, http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/drwilliams/pubs/jennings%20legacy.html.
[14] See John Handby Thompson, *A History of the Coward Trust: The First Two Hundred and Fifty Years 1738-1988* (London, 1998).

Doddridge personally, Williams edited Doddridge's collected *Works*, while Palmer defended Watts in print and produced an abridgement of Doddridge's *Family Expositor.* As products of dissenting education, all these men demonstrated its piety and politeness to the world in their own writings.

2. Watts and Doddridge in scholarship

In his letter of 1731, after expressing his hopes for Watts's continued guidance and remarking on the popularity of Watts's hymns among labourers, Doddridge declared 'it is my desire that these [hymns] and your other writings may be transmitted to the remotest generations'.[15] In doing so, he was voicing another preoccupation of the dissenters: the need to sustain and develop their intellectual tradition. Watts died in 1748, and as his literary executor Doddridge was an early participant in efforts to preserve his friend's works and present them to new readers. He worked with David Jennings to do this, and collective activity such as theirs was characteristic of the dissenting community, as will be shown by the projects described in this thesis.

Biography was another means by which dissenters could preserve and broadcast the positive features of their tradition. Watts and Doddridge were the subjects of book-length biographies written by younger men they had guided which were published in the second half of the eighteenth century. These works shaped Watts and Doddridge into idealised figureheads, and they continued to influence hagiographic portrayals of the men throughout the nineteenth century and even beyond the mid-twentieth century.[16] The restricted assessment of the men's work this has produced is compounded by the limited critical attention Watts and Doddridge have received from scholars outside their own religious tradition. The importance of Watts's hymns in evangelical Christianity (the influence of which continues today) has led to a tendency to focus principally on

[15] Philip Doddridge to Isaac Watts, 5 April [or May] 1731. Humphreys, III, 75; *Cal*. 357.
[16] Examples are John Stoughton, *Philip Doddridge: his Life and Labours* (London, 1851); Charles Stanford, *Philip Doddridge, D.D.* (London, 1880) and David Fountain, *Isaac Watts Remembered, 1674-1748* (Oxford, 1974). An exception is A. P. Davis, *Isaac Watts: His Life and Works* (London, 1948). Davis provides a useful bibliography of Watts's works and calendar of his surviving correspondence.

his scriptural poetry.[17] Though some studies of Watts have placed him in an international educational, social and religious context, these do not address the full range of his educational works.[18] The few investigations of Watts's writings which do not focus on his hymns or are not written from within denominational history are slight, and tend to stress the simplicity of his works.[19] With the exception of Isabel Rivers's studies of the language and register of some of Watts's works, the significance of his position as a dissenter for understanding his prose works is generally underplayed, for reasons that are not clear.[20]

Scholarship on Doddridge has also been rooted in denominational history, led by the detailed studies of G. F. Nuttall. In 1951, Nuttall edited a collection of essays written in honour of the bicentenary of Doddridge's death which, he hoped, 'while placing him unashamedly within the faith and order which he deliberately chose, may also serve to set him in the wider context which he deserves and may win for him respect from Christians of many kinds.'[21] Over the next fifty years, Nuttall's own work continued the task of setting Doddridge in a wider context. He delineated the connections between Doddridge and Richard Baxter, Doddridge's relations with scholars, pastors and booksellers in the Low Countries, and analysed the composition of Doddridge's academy library.[22] The picture of Doddridge that emerges from Nuttall's decades of research is of a minister and tutor devoted to promoting piety, both locally and internationally. While Nuttall's work is always grounded in the confessional

[17] K.H. Cousland, 'The Significance of Isaac Watts in the Development of Hymnody', *Church History* 17 (1948), 287-98; Harry Escott, *Isaac Watts, Hymnographer: a Study of the Beginnings, Development, and Philosophy of the English Hymn* (London, 1962). In the *Cambridge History of English Literature 1660-1780*, ed. John Richetti (Cambridge, 2005), when Watts is referred to it is generally in relation to his hymns (for example: 67, 176, 198, 668).
[18] Anne Stokley Pratt, *Isaac Watts and his Gift of Books to Yale College* (New Haven, 1938); G. P. Brooks, 'Isaac Watts and the Uses of a Knowledge of Astronomy: "He Taught the Art of Reasoning and the Science of the Stars" ', *Vistas in Astronomy*, 36 (1993) 295-310.
[19] Robert DeMaria, *Samuel Johnson's Life of Reading* (Baltimore and London, 1997), 24-5; Barbara Benedict, *Making the Modern Reader: Cultural Mediation in Early Modern Literary Anthologies* (Princeton, 1996), 186-9.
[20] Isabel Rivers, 'Dissenting and Methodist Books of Practical Divinity', in *Books and their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Isabel Rivers (Leicester, 1982), 127-64; and 'Affectionate Religion: Watts, Doddridge, and the Tradition of Old Dissent' in *Reason, Grace, and Sentiment: A Study of the Language of Religion and Ethics in England 1660-1780*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1991-2000), I, 164-204.
[21] *Philip Doddridge, 1702-51: His Contribution to English Religion*, ed. G. F. Nuttall (London, 1951), 10.
[22] G. F. Nuttall, *Richard Baxter and Philip Doddridge. A Study in a Tradition* (Oxford, 1951); G. F. Nuttall, *New College London and its Library. Two Lectures* (London, 1977); J. van den Berg and G. F. Nuttall, *Philip Doddridge (1702-1751) and The Netherlands* (Leiden, 1987).

identity he shared with Doddridge it is never hagiographic and is attentive to Doddridge's importance beyond the history and culture of his own denomination. With the exception of his calendar of Doddridge's correspondence it has not, however, been much used by scholars in fields beyond religious history. Isabel Rivers has also placed Doddridge's work in a broader intellectual context. She considers his practical works and academy lectures in relation to the varieties of ethical debate in the eighteenth century as well as in relation to evangelical culture.[23] The present study shares her view that Watts and Doddridge were remarkable for their uses of print, and it therefore considers the publishing projects the two men undertook and influenced, many of which had an educational character. It also responds to Nuttall's emphasis on the strength of the dissenting community, by attending closely to the activities of Watts and Doddridge, their associates and successors.[24]

3. Religion and eighteenth-century studies

As well as their importance within the historical tradition of religious dissent, Watts and Doddridge were also significant as dissenters whose works were read by non-dissenters. Because dissenters consciously separated themselves from the established church, they were tolerated but not fully integrated into political and educational systems. The place of religious nonconformists in national life was therefore complicated, and yet the manifestations and consequences of this have rarely been addressed. This might be due to what Jeremy Gregory terms the 'enclosure' of religious history: often studied by denominational historians with particular doctrinal and political questions to address, religion is neglected by secular scholars investigating social and cultural developments on a broad scale.[25] Gregory sees these two trends as mutually debilitating: it is, he says, to

[23] Rivers, *Reason, Grace and Sentiment*, I, 164-84; II, 192-5.
[24] The importance of sociability for dissenting literary culture in a later period is addressed by Anne Janowitz, 'Amiable and Radical Sociability: Anna Barbauld's "Free Familiar Conversation" ', in *Romantic Sociability: Social Networks and Literary Culture in Britain, 1770-1840*, ed. Gillian Russell and Clara Tuite (Cambridge, 2002), 62-81 and Daniel E. White, *Early Romanticism and Religious Dissent* (London, 2006).
[25] Jeremy Gregory, ''Transforming "the Age of Reason" into "an Age of Faiths": or, Putting Religion and Beliefs (Back) into the Eighteenth Century', in *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 32 (2009), 287-306 (293).

the detriment of our understanding of the past, and he advocates breaking down denominational barriers around the historical study of religious activity.

Nearly twenty years ago, Linda Colley argued that a sense of a shared Protestant religious identity in opposition to Catholicism formed the bedrock to 'the invention of Britishness' in the period between the Act of Union and the accession of Queen Victoria.[26] Central to Colley's argument about the importance of Protestantism to British identity was her claim that there was broad religious consensus in Britain in the period. Accepting her view has led other scholars to treat religion briefly and regard it as unproblematic, if they consider it at all. In her important study of local social and cultural milieux, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, Amanda Vickery finds that her sources affirm Colley's point:

> Intellectual sympathy across the elite was pronounced. Establishment prejudice, Whig and Tory, and unenthusiastic Anglicanism is everywhere apparent. Nonetheless, both polite Dissenters, such as the gay Quakers and genteel Methodists could be absorbed into the elite, since the most significant religious faultline in the country ran between Protestants and Catholics, not between the different brands of Protestantism.[27]

Of course, there is an elegant irony in Vickery's choice of epithets, but her confidence that readers will recognise the humour in them attests to the persistence of eighteenth-century stereotypes of dissenters as unpolished, Quakers as staid, and Methodists as coarse.[28] Such characterisations obstruct a more nuanced understanding of cross-denominational interactions in the period. Protestants of different confessions certainly did communicate positively in a range of ways during the eighteenth century, as Vickery suggests, and this was in marked contrast to the deep divisions and fierce polemic characteristic of seventeenth-century politics and writing. But sociability among individuals of different Protestant denominations was not uncomplicated, as Philip Doddridge

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[26] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven, 1992; repr. 1996), 1, 19-20. Colley finds that newspapers, cartoons and other public statements contrasted the prosperity and security of the British Isles with the poverty and instability of mainland Europe, particularly France.

[27] Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman' Daughter* (New Haven, 2003), 32.

[28] David Hempton suggests this was largely the view of Anglican clergy in the period: see David Hempton, 'Established Churches and the Growth of Religious Pluralism: a Case Study of Christianisation and Secularisation in England since 1700', in *The Decline of Christendom in Western Europe, 1750-2000*, ed. Hugh McLeod and Werner Ustorf (Cambridge, 2003), 81-98.

found when he was (repeatedly) accused of being too eager to please his social superiors and friends in the established church.[29]

A consequence of serene restatements of the relative unimportance of religious identity is that insufficient attention is paid to the social and cultural significance of religion. Jeremy Gregory has suggested that scholars may be doubly blinkered: either they choose not to look at religious sources, or 'the religious framework and substance of a text may not be obvious', or both.[30] He observes that eighteenth-century sources often take religion for granted, and asks 'How, then, should we put religions and beliefs back into the eighteenth century, and if we did so what difference would it make?'[31] This thesis performs Gregory's first task by examining a range of dissenters' writings and by emphasising the religious context of Watts's and Doddridge's intellectual and cultural engagements. In so doing, it proposes that familiarity with the religious culture of the eighteenth century can refine our understanding of three areas of current research: conduct, education and bookselling.

The dissenters' sense of having a collective identity was rooted in their history of persecution, and ongoing separation from the universities and national government. These restrictions shaped their interactions with non-dissenting intellectuals and writers: Doddridge in particular sought the epistolary acquaintance of scholars at the universities, individuals in the royal household, and men with important positions within the Anglican establishment. He and Watts sought to participate in numerous intellectual and cultural milieux and to do so needed to demonstrate competence in the practices of polite sociability. They had to do this in the face of popular depictions of dissenters which tended to satirize them as strange and rude. This was partly because it was assumed that the majority of dissenters were among the poorer members of society.[32] Some recent scholarly frameworks allow dissenters' manners to be viewed more

[29] See, for example, *Cal*. 1127, 1600. Many of Doddridge's letters make reference to his high-profile acquaintances: two examples are *Cal*. 1371 and 1451.
[30] Gregory, 'Transforming "the Age of Reason" into "an Age of Faiths" ', 294.
[31] Gregory, 'Transforming "the Age of Reason" into "an Age of Faiths" ', 293.
[32] Intemperate printed attacks that emphasise the rudeness of dissenters include Thomas Lewis, *Anatomy of the Heretical Synod of Dissenters at Salters' Hall* (London, 1719) and Zachary Grey, *A Caveat Against the Dissenters* (London, 1736). A literary representation of dissent from a later period which relies on conventional perceptions of dissenters as zealous, strange and badly dressed is the battle between the Anglican Sunday school and the dissenting congregations in *Shirley*: see Charlotte Brontë, *Shirley* (London, 2006), ch. 17.

positively. Paul Langford considers personal conduct in the eighteenth century in terms of a series of cultural projects or positions which individuals could adopt, and according to this schema Watts and Doddridge were certainly polite, as evidenced by their fluent prose, moderate religious positions and active participation in community projects.[33] Lawrence E. Klein similarly configures politeness not as an attribute of members of one group in opposition to others but as a set of 'competencies' which enabled their practitioners to navigate culture, seen as 'a composite zone without any claim to unity or totality'.[34] In the absence of any fixed social realm, politeness was 'a highly useful tool for understanding and organising cultural practices'.[35] Klein's view of politeness as a means by which its possessors could cross between religious, social and gender groups is a helpful way of imagining Doddridge's and Watts's social interactions.[36]

Unfortunately, other historians of manners have entirely neglected the religious context of eighteenth-century discourses about polite sociability. Philip Carter, for example, pays little attention to the influence of religion on how manliness was conceptualised, despite taking his definition of the word 'courtesy' from a sermon by John Wesley.[37] While Carter identifies essays, sermons and lectures as places where politeness was discussed, he does not address the particularities of these forms, or how the locations in which they were read or heard might condition their audiences' understanding of who or what could be polite. To put this in Gregory's terms, the social realm that Carter explores exists within a religious framework; the texts Carter uses indicate this plainly, but Carter does not notice. Partly the conjunction of manners and sermons is significant because theories of good conduct in speech were principally articulated in discussions of polite forms of preaching, in which the bombast and lack of finesse of dissenters' sermons was asserted.[38] Another consequence of Carter's blindspot is that he misses the connections between

[33] Paul Langford, 'The Uses of Eighteenth-Century Politeness', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 12 (2002), 311-31.
[34] Lawrence E. Klein, 'Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century', *Historical Journal*, 45 (2002), 869-98 (870, 873).
[35] Klein, 'Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century', 898.
[36] Klein's current research into the Bath Philosophical Society uses the concept of 'competencies' to examine the role of dissenters in urban, associational life, for example his paper 'Dissenters in Eighteenth-Century Polite Culture' presented at the Dr Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies Seminar, July 2009.
[37] Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800* (Harlow, 2001), 23.
[38] *The Tatler*, ed. D. F. Bond, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1987), I, 453-7 (10 September 1709).

moral education and comportment often made in sermons. Carter's argument is that politeness was directed by social and economic forces combined, and it may be that he sees religion as simply one aspect of social life, sufficiently uncomplicated to require little particular attention.

A recent counterbalance to the view that politeness offered a way to 'tame' religion (as John Brewer puts it) has been provided by William van Reyk, who points to the Christian foundation of many works on conduct.[39] In all these configurations of politeness and conduct, however, including those which foreground religion, dissent has been neglected. This may be a consequence of Colley's thesis, or because historians are quite happy to assume that because dissenters were numerically insignificant, dissent was unimportant.[40] Awareness of the particularities of religious and social experience is crucial to understanding cultural interactions in the eighteenth century though, as is particularly clear from dissenters' own writings and teachings. Evidence from manuscripts of academy lectures indicates that students were trained in the skills which marked one out as polite in a social sense. Knowledge of architecture and facility in public speaking were encouraged, showing that contemporary characterisations of dissenters as rude, rustic and interested only in dogmatic religion were exaggerated.[41] Significantly, lecture notes also reveal that demonstrating politeness was considered part of the ministerial role.[42] Politeness had social, spiritual and pastoral purposes for dissenters.

The nature of dissenting academy education (including its curricula, locations, discipline and intellectual connections) will be thoroughly investigated

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[39] John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1997), 99; William Van Reyk, 'Educating Christian Men in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: Public-School and Oxbridge Ideals', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 3 (2009), 425-37, and 'Christian Ideals of Manliness in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', *The Historical Journal*, 52 (2009), 1053-73.

[40] Older studies of religion in the period often made the claim that dissent was in decline, see Charles Abbey and John Overton, *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, 2 vols. (London, 1878), II, 274-9; or that it was self-enclosed, see Gordon Rupp, *Religion in England, 1688-1791* (Oxford, 1986), 108-79 (127). For the demography and political influence of dissent, see Bradley, *Religion, Revolution and English Radicalism*, 91-104. Bradley questions the assumed political insignificance of dissenters.

[41] Eighteenth-century pamphlets reproduced these conventional depictions of dissenters. See, for example, the collection of tracts bound together in the BL, shelfmark T.814.

[42] CHCN Blackmore MS 4 is a volume of student notes entitled 'Rules of Conduct' which delineate good conduct before God, in relation to one's work, among one's peers and in the world.

in the forthcoming *History of Dissenting Academies*.[43] This archive-based history will replace older work and bring into question the findings of more recent studies that have relied on secondary sources.[44] It should also prompt a sustained re-evaluation of the intellectual and cultural landscape of British education, and will certainly provide scholars with the materials to incorporate dissent into their studies of the eighteenth century. This is long overdue, for most studies of education in the eighteenth century pay little attention to alternative educational locations, despite acknowledging that attendance at the universities fell in the period.[45] The chapter on 'Oxford and the Church' in *The History of the University of Oxford* reiterates the role of the universities in maintaining the state religion, declaring early on that 'Oxford and Cambridge were the key-institutions in the national religious establishment'.[46] It does not, however, consider the implications of the absence of those who did not belong to the national religious establishment.[47]

Dissenting academies were very different to Oxford and Cambridge colleges, and this had a significant impact on the works dissenters produced.[48]

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[43] *A History of the Dissenting Academies in the British Isles, 1660-1860*, ed. Isabel Rivers and David L. Wykes, with Knud Haakonssen and Richard Whatmore (Cambridge, forthcoming 2013).

[44] For example, David L. Ferch, ' "Good Books are a Very Great Mercy to the World": Persecution, Private Libraries, and the Printed World in the Early Development of the Dissenting Academies, 1663-1730', *Journal of Library History*, 21 (1986), 350-61; Thomas P. Miller, 'Liberal Education in the Dissenting Academies', in *The Formation of College English: Rhetoric and Belles Lettres in the English Cultural Provinces* (Pittsburgh, 1997), 86-116 and Claeys, 'Virtuous Commerce and Free Theology'.

[45] See Lawrence Stone, 'The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body, 1580– 1910', in *The University in Society*, ed. Lawrence Stone, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1974), I, 3-110 (esp. 37-57). An investigation of scientific learning at Cambridge which attends carefully to differences within Protestant Christianity can be found in John Gascoigne, *Cambridge in the Age of the Enlightenment: Science, Religion and Politics from the Restoration to the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 1989).

[46] G. V. Bennett, 'University, Society and Church 1688-1714', in *The History of the University of Oxford Volume V: The Eighteenth Century* ed. L. S. Sutherland and L. G. Mitchell (Oxford, 1986), 359-400 (360).

[47] Examples of this blindspot include J. Yolton's discussion of Watts in 'Schoolmen, Logic and Philosophy', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, V, 568-77 (569, 575-6); the observation that the 'Anglican monopoly' and the social homogeneity of the university populations contributed to a decline in intellectual life is taken no further by V. H. H. Green in 'Religion in the Universities after the Restoration', in *Religion at Oxford and Cambridge* (London, 1964), 153-77 (175). Hugh Kearney notes only that the imposition of the Clarendon Code contributed to the decline in student numbers: see H. F. Kearney, *Scholars and Gentlemen: Universities and Society in pre-Industrial Britain 1500-1700* (London, 1970), 143.

[48] This point is rarely made, perhaps because if academies are mentioned at all in accounts of advanced education, they are considered only in terms of their curricula. For example, D. Patterson, 'Hebrew Studies', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, V, 535-50 (549). Jeremy Gregory, however, highlights the complex relationship between dissenting academies and the

The community of resident students, a tutor and his wife, children and servants, and assistant tutor was often called 'the Family'. As Naomi Tadmor has shown, the early modern use of the term 'family' did not necessarily refer exclusively to a household of blood relatives.[49] Doddridge's academy was a place where a mixed community lived together under his leadership, and where a range of educational, professional, domestic and religious activities took place.[50] 'The boundaries of these household-families are not those of blood and marriage, they are the boundaries of authority and of household management' writes Tadmor, and this provides an insight into the temper of the intellectual and religious culture inculcated by the domestic framework of Doddridge's academy.[51] The use of religious texts for family reading in this wider sense of 'family' is an important element of dissenting efforts to improve religious understanding of the gospels, and to encourage people to incorporate examples from the New Testament into their daily lives. Parts of Doddridge's *Family Expositor* were originally lectures read to students at the academy, and Isaac Watts read sections of Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul* to his servants to test whether it was comprehensible to the whole family.[52] These religious texts for family use were extremely popular books in the eighteenth century and their genesis in Doddridge's own family, which incorporated his academy, tells us that the conduct of dissenting academies influenced (and was influenced by) domestic culture in ways that are not immediately obvious.

Doddridge's academy encouraged the freedom of individual conscience and, related to this, the principle of free enquiry by which students would compare opinions on different sides of a given question when searching out

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universities: 'In some ways, of course, the relationship between the dissenting academies and the clerical and university establishment was not as straightforward as such an oppositional model might imply'. Jeremy Gregory, 'Christianity and Culture: Religion, the Arts and the Sciences in England, 1660-1800', in *Culture and Society in Britain, 1660-1800*, ed. Jeremy Black and Jeremy Gregory (Manchester, 1997), 102-23 (111).

[49] Naomi Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage* (Cambridge, 2001), 21-4.

[50] A range of examples in which 'the Family' is used to include the academy will be found in the following pages. Two examples are Doddridge explaining how 'after we laid aside Hebrew in the Lecture Room continued throughout all the Second Year to read from it in the Family almost every Day', in 'An Account of Mr Jennings's Method', fol. 8; and Caleb Ashworth telling Mercy Doddridge: 'I have read his F.E. twice over in the family, & always speak in terms of the highest respect', 12 December 1759. DWL MS NCL L. 63/14.

[51] Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England*, 24.

[52] *Cal*. 945, 963. According to Andrew Kippis, Doddridge's critical lectures on the New Testament were incorporated into *The Family Expositor*: see *Biographia Britannica*, V, 280.

moral, theological and scientific truth.[53] This method was the foundation of the printed works through which his educational ideas were presented to educators, students and Christians beyond his community of dissenters. Watts, whose ill health prevented him from preaching, ministering or tutoring regularly, was a prolific author. His sermons and educational writings, as well as his hymns, often demonstrated the interconnected nature of religious faith and human experience of the world. Watts's epistemology was strongly influenced by John Locke, but his empiricism was coupled with, and sometimes overshadowed by, an emphasis on emotionally engaging religious experience. This mood has been associated with the rise of religious evangelicalism in the middle of the eighteenth century.[54] Doddridge was also seen as an evangelical writer, particularly after the publication of *Some Remarkable Passages in the Life of the Honourable Col. James Gardiner* (1747), a spiritual biography which describes the conversion of his friend, the soldier James Gardiner.[55] While the evangelical and devotional aspects of Watts and Doddridge's writing are important, as are the doctrinal questions the two men addressed in their preaching and writing, these are not the central object of investigation here. This thesis is principally concerned with their experience as dissenters and the influence this had on how their works were written and promoted.[56]

Watts and Doddridge repeatedly used 'public' opportunities, such as sermons and the prefaces to printed works to announce collaborations and to describe the networks of individuals who had contributed to the publication. Friendship was proffered generously and widely, and not only to personal acquaintances: people involved in similar evangelical projects (such as August Hermann Francke in Germany or Jonathan Edwards in New England) were identified as like-minded and welcomed into a virtual community which was available to all, but only existed in print. As Isabel Rivers has observed, Watts

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[53] See Isabel Rivers, *The Defence of Truth Through the Knowledge of Error: Philip Doddridge's Academy Lectures* (London, 2003). The relationship between Doddridge's teaching, particularly the method of free enquiry, and the development of what the author terms 'critical literacy' is explored in Miller, 'Liberal Education in the Dissenting Academies', 91-7.

[54] Bruce Hindmarch, 'Reshaping Individualism: The Private Christian, Eighteenth-Century Religion, and the Enlightenment' in *The Rise of the Laity in Evangelical Protestantism* ed. Deryck W. Lovegrove (London, 2002), 67-84.

[55] For a discussion of this text, see Rivers, *Reason, Grace and Sentiment*, I, 199-203.

[56] Though G. F. Nuttall's work has been instrumental in introducing the scope of Doddridge's network, Nuttall himself does not consider the idea of networks in these terms.

and Doddridge both downplayed denominational differences among dissenters in their published works, in a bid both to construct a wide and participatory community of dissenters, and to present dissent as a catholic and harmonious movement to non-dissenting readers.[57]

4. Dissent and book history

Watts and Doddridge both saw publishing as a central component of their work. Their publishing activities sought to promote practical piety, to consolidate the intellectual status of dissent, and to provide educational models. Doddridge's teaching materials, which circulated in manuscript before being printed, also had these aims. Numerous manuscript copies of lecture notes survive, and their circulation and re-copying was central to the continuation of Doddridge's educational methods. Discussing the varieties of publication in the early modern period, Harold Love describes 'a more inclusive "weak" sense' of publication 'in which it is enough to show that the text has ceased to be a private possession'.[58] In this sense, some versions of Doddridge's academy lectures can be considered as publications; they certainly attest to a lively scribal culture which existed in dissenting academies until the late eighteenth century at least.[59] The relationship between manuscript and print is complicated when considering educational culture, as Love has noted.[60] Surviving materials from dissenting academies demonstrate that manuscript and print cannot be clearly separated. Printed books were interleaved so that notes could be added, lecture notes included summaries of and responses to printed texts, volumes of lecture notes themselves contained a great deal of blank space for future additions, and new material in a later edition of a printed text could be copied into an earlier edition.[61] Knowledge of

[57] Rivers, *Reason, Grace and Sentiment*, I, 172.
[58] Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1993), 36.
[59] David McKitterick, *Manuscript, Print and the Search for Order* (Cambridge, 2003), 11.
[60] Love, *Scribal Publication*, 217-24.
[61] Watts's interleaved copy of John Wilkins's *Ecclesiastes* in which Watts has made numerous notes survives in DWL, shelfmark 564.D.6: see William E. Stephenson, 'Isaac Watts's Education for the Dissenting Ministry: A New Document', *Harvard Theological Review*, 61 (1968), 263-81. Doddridge's theology lectures routinely incorporate material from and discussion of printed books: see Chapter one below. Interleaved copies of John Jennings's lecture notes with Doddridge's additions survive, including the second part of Jennings's theology lectures, DWL MS 28.117. A copy of the 1776 edition of Doddridge's *Course of Lectures* has all the additional references from Andrew Kippis's edition of 1794 inserted by hand: see BL, shelfmark 1601/9.

these practices enables a fuller understanding of the educational culture of dissent, from which all of Watts's and Doddridge's printed works emerged.

The diversity of the publishing projects presented in this thesis means a flexible approach to their investigation is required.[62] While the study of academy teaching materials here is indebted to the work of Love and McKitterick which emphasises the longevity and complexity of scribal culture, the exploration of dissenters' uses of print owes much to Richard B. Sher's study of the publication of Enlightenment books by Scottish authors. His topic is the publishing activities of a group which considered itself to be a coterie and yet wished to reach a wide audience; a group which was not of the English political and religious establishment, but which engaged with English society. Sher's study draws on personal correspondence (particularly between authors and booksellers) which yields much information about editions of works, negotiations about the format of books and payments to authors. He attends particularly to the circumstances of a book's first publication and its later reprintings to consider the fluid nature of texts.[63] Sher's treatment of these factors takes an anthropological rather than a philosophical approach to the analysis of book production and its cultural meaning.[64]

Sher makes the case for a return to studying the methods of producing books against what he terms the 'postmodern tendency' (which he sees embodied in reader-response theory) to privilege reception. In Sher's understanding of the history of books:

> The price of a book, the number of copies printed, how it was advertised and promoted, and even the contractual arrangements between the author and the publisher, or among the copublishers, must all be taken into account, because supply-side factors such as these affected reception in various ways.[65]

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[62] The diversity of methodologies and objects of study that 'the history of the book' encompasses is demonstrated in *CHBB*, V and discussed by Michael F. Suarez in its 'Introduction', 1-35 (2).
[63] This fluidity is also emphasised by McKitterick in *Manuscript, Print and the Search for Order*.
[64] The distinction comes from Robert Darnton, 'Two Paths Through the Social History of Ideas', in *The Darnton Debate: Books and Revolution in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Haydn T. Mason (Oxford, 1998) 251-94 (285).
[65] Richard B. Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book* (Chicago, 2006), 32. This comprehensive approach, which attends to the process of production and distribution of books when considering the meaning of texts was first advocated by D.F. McKenzie in 'Printers of the Mind: Some Notes on Bibliographical Theories and Printing-House Practices', *Studies in Bibliography*, 22 (1969), 1-75; repr. in *Making Meaning: "Printers of the Mind" and other Essays*, ed. Peter D. McDonald and Michael F. Suarez, S.J. (Amherst and Boston, 2002), 13-85.

The financial arrangements between booksellers and authors; the physical appearance of particular works; editorial activity and how it is presented; methods of promoting new publications (including the presence of reviews and notices of publication in the press); and some recorded experiences of individual readers of Watts and Doddridge are all explored here, following Sher's contention that 'the conditions of publication and distribution can help us to recover the contemporary meaning of published books'.[66] Such information is more firmly rooted in actual writing and reading practices than analysis that relies solely on printed responses to books such as review journals.[67]

A sense of the personal relationships that resulted in the appearance of physical books in particular forms at a particular moment is central to understanding 'the conditions of publication'. The social, financial and confessional relationships among the agents involved in the production of texts are, therefore, key.[68] The gradual process of books taking shape out of discussions (in person or via letter), lectures and household activities adds a domestic and temporal dimension to 'the conditions of production'. James Raven argues that attention to the relationships among booksellers is crucial for understanding how and why books were published.[69] His work is an exemplary demonstration of an approach to publishing history which repeatedly emphasises the economic dimension of book production and foregrounds the importance of booksellers as cultural agents. However, Raven's argument persistently prioritises financial considerations and overlooks other motivations. Religion, in particular, is given little credit as a force in book publishing, even though religious motivations in publishing were neither subordinate to nor separate from economic ones. Watts and Doddridge authored works which were strong sellers, but to explain their significance as authors only in terms of their financial value

[66] Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book*, 34.
[67] Fergus has shown that the recommendations of review journals did not necessarily affect what people chose to read to any great degree. See Jan Fergus, *Provincial Readers in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 2006), 54-60.
[68] For diagrams of the interconnected network of agents involved in book production, see Robert Darnton's 'communications circuit', and, as an alternative which emphasises processes rather than individuals, 'The whole socio-economic conjuncture', by Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker, both reproduced in *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society*, ed. Nicolas Barker (London, 1993), 11, 14.
[69] James Raven, *The Business of Books* (New Haven, 2007).

to booksellers makes the rather narrow assumption that booksellers were motivated only by money. In their lifetimes, Watts and Doddridge chose to publish with booksellers who were also dissenters and would therefore have had religious and personal interests in many of the works they published.[70]

Bringing to attention the publishing of religious authors also goes some way to correcting the unbalanced treatment of authorship. Studies of developments in literary property and the profession of the author in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (which in general argue that the status of authors increased in conjunction with the increased sums they could charge for copyright to their works) have tended to concentrate on writers of literature.[71] Religious books were both far more numerous and more profitable than most works of fiction in the period, but religious authors have not received the same degree of attention as literary authors.[72] As a result, claims made about the nature of eighteenth-century book culture have tended only to describe a small segment of that culture. This is now changing. The importance of John Wesley as an innovative participant in the book trade is increasingly emphasised, for example.[73] Though the scale and scope of Wesley's activities surpassed those of the dissenters, their editorial and authorial efforts can be understood, like his, as contributions to the intensely active realm of religious publishing in the period. The details of this scene are emerging in the growing body of material which assesses the publishing processes of religious texts from the seventeenth to the

[70] For a study of the bookseller Joseph Johnson which considers his professional activities in terms of his dissenting identity and political posititions, see Helen Braithwaite, *Romanticism, Publishing and Dissent: Joseph Johnson and the Cause of Liberty* (Basingstoke, 2003). For a study of one firm of religious publishers who did not only produce religious books, see John A. H. Dempster, *The T. & T. Clark Story* (Edinburgh, 1992), 19-31.

[71] David Foxon, *Pope and the Early Eighteenth-Century Book Trade*, rev. and ed. James McLaverty (Oxford, 1991); James McLaverty, *Pope, Print and Meaning* (Oxford, 2001); Alvin B. Kernan, *Samuel Johnson and the Impact of Print* (Princeton, 1989). The work of Sher and Darnton are significant exceptions.

[72] Suarez's table of the genre of books published between 1703 and 1793 shows that religious publications consistently outnumber every other category. The only exceptions are politics, which overtakes religion from 1753 and literature, which outnumbers religion by forty titles in 1773: see *CHBB*, V, 46.

[73] Michael Mascuch, 'John Wesley, Superstar: Periodicity, Celebrity, and the Sensibility of Methodist Society in Wesley's *Journal* (1740-1791), in *Egodocuments and History: Autobiographical Writing in its Social Context since the Middle Ages*, ed. Rudolph Dekker (Rotterdam, 2002), 137-60; Isabel Rivers, 'John Wesley as Editor and Publisher', in *The Cambridge Companion to John Wesley*, ed. Randy L. Maddox and Jason E. Vickers (Cambridge, 2010), 144-59.

nineteenth century. Literary works and other genres may now be understood in the context of the full range of books published in the period.[74]

The publishing activities of Watts, Doddridge and their associates coincided with a 'remarkable rise' in print between 1723 and 1793, and James Raven speaks of the 1740s, when the majority of Doddridge's works were first published, as a 'watershed decade'.[75] The growth of the periodical press, the rise of the novel, the surge in evangelical religion, and the development of provincial printing have all been proposed as factors contributing to this rise.[76] The treatment of the dissenting publishing culture in this thesis brings the human dimension of these broader trends to the fore. This study hopes to offer a more complete understanding of the practical and conceptual importance of Watts and Doddridge as authors than has been available before, and to bring the work of their editors and biographers into focus, in order to enrich the current picture of the eighteenth-century literary scene.

5. Letters and friendship networks

Much of the information about book publishing presented in this thesis comes from letters. Personal documents of this nature present some problems of interpretation, for they are grounded in a particular situation and written to a

[74] B. W. Young, 'Theological Books from *The Naked Gospel* to *Nemesis of Faith*' in *Books and their Readers in Eighteenth Century England: New Essays*, ed. Isabel Rivers (Leicester, 2001), 79-104; Rosemary Dixon, 'The Publishing of John Tillotson's Collected Works 1695-1757', *The Library*, 7th ser., 8 (2007), 154-81; Isabel Rivers 'Religious Publishing', in *CHBB*, V, 579-600. As James Caudle observes, sermons figured strongly in the printed public sphere and he predicates his argument on 'the continuing rise of the presented occasional political sermon as a mass medium': see 'Preaching in Parliament: Patronage, Publicity and Politics in Britain, 1701-60', in *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History 1600-1750* (Manchester, 2000), 235-63 (256).

[75] Suarez, 'Towards a Bibliometric Analysis of the Surviving Record', in *CHBB*, V, 39-65 (43). Suarez's chart of total imprints for the period 1791-93 shows the number of imprints increased every decade from the 1740s, with a particularly sharp rise in the 1780s. James Raven, 'The Book as a Commodity', in *CHBB*, V, 85-117 (92).

[76] For a list of factors that omits religion, see Raven, 'The Book as a Commodity', 93. The growth in the periodical press is discussed in Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, 40-1; provincial printing is addressed in C.Y. Ferdinand, 'Newspapers and the Sale of Books in the Provinces', in *CHBB*, V, 434-47 (434); increased literacy as a factor affecting book production is cited by Suarez, 'Towards a Bibliometric Analysis of the Surviving Record', 44; the number of titles of novels published is noted (along with the fact that most had small print-runs of around 500 copies) by Suarez in 'Publishing Contemporary English Literature, 1965-1774', in *CHBB*, V, 649-66 (663). On cheap tracts, see Scott Mandelbrote, 'The Publishing and Distribution of Religious Books by Voluntary Associations: from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to the British and Foreign Bible Society', *CHBB*, V, 613-30 (618, 620-5).

particular addressee. They are neither only private nor openly public in their presentation of writer, recipient, or the situations they address.[77] While letters are a rich a source of factual information, they cannot be treated simply as repositories; sensitivity to the full range of functions they performed for their writers, recipients, and other readers is necessary for their interpretation. As a young man, Doddridge thanked his friend Obadiah Hughes for recommending the letters of Pliny the Younger, observing 'there is seldom a day in which I do not read two or three of his epistles'. He claimed to see Pliny's influence on Hughes's own letters:

> nothing gave me so lively an idea of his excellence as to observe the perfection to which you have arrived by studying him, for every letter of yours is a panegyric upon Pliny, though you do not mention his name.[78]

Doddridge's playful comparison of Hughes with Pliny (a further example of his tendency to flattery) registers the efforts of these young ministers to write with dignity, polish, learning and wit by following classical models. In his personal letters he uses the form as a location for testing out different identities: as a trainee minister resident in an academy with other male students, he casts himself as a romantic wit in his florid letters to his female acquaintances; letters to his peers are filled with references to classical and contemporary literature; while in letters to his mentors he offers sober assessments of philosophical and theological works he has read, presenting a version of himself as a thoughtful scholar. Doddridge's correspondence is extensive and wide-ranging. However, it has more often been used as a source of facts and sociological detail than considered in terms of genre.[79] In his introduction to the calendar, Nuttall does not say much about epistolarity *per se*, except to note the social and denominational range of Doddridge's correspondents.[80] The interrelations of dissenters and other individuals as effected by and described in letters, and the

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[77] Frank Baker provides a thorough overview of the processes of writing, sending and receiving letters in the eighteenth century and emphasises the importance of attending to the materiality and historical circumstances of individual letters: see *The Works of John Wesley (Letters I: 1721-39)*, ed. Frank Baker (Oxford, 1980), 1-140.
[78] Philip Doddridge to Obadiah Hughes, 28 June 1726. Humphreys, II, 133; *Cal*. 214.
[79] Nuttall himself encouraged this use of *Cal*., see 'Philip Doddridge and his Letters', in *Philip Doddridge, Nonconformity and Northampton*, ed. R. L. Greenall (Leicester, 1981), 1-14 (6, 12)
[80] Nuttall, 'Doddridge and his Correspondence', in *Cal.*, xxxi-xxxii.

different purposes that correspondence could serve, are explored at different points in this thesis. Doddridge's letters, for example, provide valuable insights into his views on the politics and religion of his day and give information about how his works were published, as well as offering a richly detailed picture of his social world.

This approach to dissenters' correspondence draws on a wealth of scholarship. The social function of letters and writers' uses of epistolary conventions to transmit meanings beyond the words themselves have been detailed in general surveys, and the complex interplay of public duties and private motives of individual historical figures has been explored in numerous case studies.[81] In his pioneering study of the familiar letter in the eighteenth century, Bruce Redford regretted that 'no scholar has yet paid more than lip service to the unique craftsmanship of that age'.[82] Fortunately, this is no longer the case. As well as Redford's, there are now several studies of eighteenth-century epistolary culture.[83] In the most recent of these, Susan Whyman proposes 'epistolary literacy' as a skill which enabled its holders to use expressive modes which sometimes borrowed from printed letters and conduct guides (though, like Clare Brant, she sees a gap between conduct literature and actual practice), or mimicked other, real-life letters.[84] In either case, letter writers displayed knowledge of set forms and used these for communicative purposes which entailed both exchanging information and conveying a persona. Imagined thus, letter writing can be seen as a 'competency' (in Klein's term) which, as

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[81] Janet Gurkin Altman, *Epistolarity: Approaches to a Form* (Columbus, 1993); Susan Whyman, *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys, 1660-1720* (Oxford, 1999); Gary Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity: Vernacular Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern England, 1500-1700* (Newark, 2005); Carol Poster and Linda C. Mitchell, *Letter-Writing Manuals and Instruction from Antiquity to the Present Day* (Charleston, 2007).

[82] Bruce Redford, *The Converse of the Pen: Acts of Intimacy in the Eighteenth-Century Familiar Letter* (Chicago, 1986), 7.

[83] James How, *Epistolary Spaces: English Letter Writing from the Foundation of the Post Office to Richardson's* Clarissa (Aldershot, 2003); Eve Tavor Bannet, *Empire of Letters: Letter Manuals and Transatlantic Correspondence, 1688-1820* (Cambridge, 2005); Clare Brant, *Eighteenth Century Letters and British Culture* (Basingstoke, 2006); Susan Whyman, *The Pen and the People: English Letter Writers 1660-1800* (Oxford, 2009). An illuminating study of the editorship of printed letters is Robert Illife, 'Author-Mongering: the "Editor" between Producer and Consumer', in *The Consumption of Culture, 1600-1800: Image, Object Text*, ed. Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (London, 1995), 166-92.

[84] Whyman, *The Pen and The People*, 31 and Brant, *Eighteenth-Century Letters and British Culture*, 9-11. Whyman considers epistolary literacy 'a valuable skill, which gave its owner a certain social standing in the community' (76).

Whyman shows, could be acquired by individuals relatively far down the social scale. It was also a means by which members of the propertied classes could demonstrate their polish.[85] In the present study, the stakes of this competency are evident in the business negotiations of Doddridge's widow, which required a high degree of epistolary literacy.[86]

For seventeenth-century writers such as Richard Baxter, letter writing was a mechanism for creating and sustaining godly communities, and the correspondence of eighteenth-century dissenters should be seen in the context of the epistolary traditions of earlier nonconformists.[87] Doddridge's letters to his peers and mentors reveal dissenting social networks, while his surviving correspondence also shows that he used letters to forge links with men in scholarly, political and courtly milieux far removed from his own life as a minister and tutor in a provincial town. Letters enabled dissenters to articulate and practice their identities; and later, published collections of dissenters' letters broadcast their epistolary literacy in print. Ultimately, though, the usefulness of letters to their senders and recipients is what makes them such a significant source for scholars today. One crucial example of this is that more information about the connections between members of Doddridge's circle can be discerned from the correspondence of Doddridge's widow than is apparent in any printed text.

6. Contours and content

As its title emphasises, the focus of this thesis is dissenting culture. It thereby risks confining itself to the 'enclosure' of religious history that Jeremy Gregory so regrets. Indeed, in the chapters that follow Doddridge and Watts are only set alongside other authors and educators active in the period in self-enclosed moments of comparison, and their concerns are usually framed in the religious terms that the two men used themselves. The reason for this is that much of the

[85] Whyman, *The Pen and the People*, chs. 3 and 4.
[86] Nuttall produced a calendar of Mercy Doddridge's correspondence which has been invaluable for this study. See G. F. Nuttall, *Handlist of the Correspondence of Mercy Doddridge 1751-1790* (London, 1984).
[87] See N. H. Keeble, *'Loving and Free Converse': Richard Baxter in his Letters* (London, 1991); Alison Searle, ' "Though I am a stranger to you by face, yet in neere bonds by faith": A Transatlantic Puritan Republic of Letters', *Early American Literature*, 43 (2008), 277-308.

research presented here is exploratory. In response to the tendency in literary and historical studies to isolate religion from other aspects of culture and society, this thesis aims to take the first steps towards reintegrating Watts and Doddridge into broader studies of literary history.[88] For this to be possible, the meanings and forms of dissenting publishing in the eighteenth century have to be uncovered and described thoroughly. After dissenters' literary culture has been understood in its own terms, the ways in which their books, reading and concerns intersected with broader trends in the period can be examined.

Because of its exploratory nature, this thesis does not follow a single methodological or theoretical path, but applies techniques from a repertoire of interdisciplinary approaches to a range of materials. Each chapter presents and analyses a range of manuscript and printed materials. The interpretation of these materials extends beyond the content of a particular text (which might be a printed book, a set of manuscript lecture notes, or a personal letter) and encompasses its physical appearance. Following the example of Gerard Genette, a work's format and paratextual features such as title pages, prefaces, dedications, and imprint information are investigated. Letters relating to books, proposals for printing, and printed reviews (which Genette categorises as 'epitexts') are also important sources for charting contemporary meanings and interpretations of texts.[89] Subsequent editions of texts (both manuscript and printed), and the reappearance of materials in different places, along with selective examples of reading, provide further evidence of how these materials were regarded in the period. Genette's attentiveness to the physical manifestation of a text, and his insistence that no presentational choice can be disregarded as unimportant, has informed the approach throughout. Chapter one describes the educational scheme of Doddridge's tutor, John Jennings, Doddridge's

[88] A recent example of the 'enclosure' of religion is the fact that authors of religious works are scarcely mentioned other than in the chapter specifically concerned with 'Religious Literature' by Isabel Rivers in *The Cambridge History of English Literature 1660-1780*. An example of the particular enclosure of dissent is Blackwell's *Companion to Eighteenth-Century Britain*, which mentions Watts once and Doddridge three times, only in the chapter on 'Religious Minorities'. More promising is the fact that the two most recent studies of eighteenth-century letters have incorporated the letters of dissenters: Doddridge's printed controversial exchange with Henry Dodwell is the subject of a chapter entitled 'Writing as a Christian' in Brant, *Eighteenth-Century Letters and British Culture*, ch. 5, and the correspondence of the Congregationalist sisters Rebekah Bateman and Elizabeth Wilson is discussed by Whyman in *The Pen and The People*, 132-57.

[89] Gerard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge, 1997), chs. 2, 13, 14.

development and presentation of it in his own course, and later uses of Doddridge's course in dissenting academies. Using manuscript copies of lecture notes, the conduct of various subjects of study at several dissenting academies is explored in order to demonstrate that an important characteristic of this intellectually rigorous theological education was that it could be adapted by other educators. Thus the flexible form of the system championed by Doddridge is shown to have been a significant influence on dissenting education, though at the same time the limited value of attributing 'influence' or 'importance' to one particular educator is emphasised, for in fact dissenting education was characterised by a continual process of adaptation. In the spirit of the new *History of Dissenting Academies*, it makes use of archival materials in order to reassess the activities of dissenting academies, rather than relying on the outdated standard histories.[90] Chapter two presents publishing histories of three of Doddridge's posthumous works, *The Family Expositor*, *A Course of Lectures* and 'Lectures on Preaching'. Extremely full records of the negotiations surrounding the publication of these works survives in the correspondence of Doddridge's widow, Mercy. The chapter contains completely new information on relations between booksellers and copyright holders in the eighteenth century, and highlights the role an author and his associates played in the publishing process. It emphasises the collaborative nature of these particular editing projects, and demonstrates that personal associations between different agents influenced the appearance of the works in ways not immediately apparent within the works themselves. In so doing, it follows D. F. McKenzie's recommendation to interpret books in the context of knowledge of publishing practices, and does so through reference to letters and subscription lists, in order to develop a sense of the cultural and intellectual positioning of these works in various forms and editions.[91] The sources, particularly letters, reveal that Doddridge and his associates played a key role in directing the appearance of a published work, findings which are in contrast to those studies that place booksellers at the centre of all financial negotiations and argue that they had almost complete control over

[90] These are Parker, *Dissenting Academies*; McLachlan, *English Education Under the Test Acts*; and J. W. Ashley Smith, *The Birth of Modern Education: the Contribution of the Dissenting Academies, 1660-1800* (London, 1954).
[91] D. F. McKenzie, 'Printers of the Mind'.

how books were distributed and the forms in which they were published.[92] Dissenters' anxieties about the conduct of publishing emerge in this chapter, as they express concern about various uses of print and question whether works which had remained in manuscript for a long time should be printed. Chapter three develops the argument that dissenting publishing projects were collective endeavours by investigating some of the varieties of dissenting writing produced and promoted by Isaac Watts. It focuses on his educational writings and editorial roles, and the process of publishing his collected *Works* after his death, and draws together evidence from printed texts and correspondence to examine the creation of a place for dissenting modes of learning in eighteenth-century culture. It employs evidence of reading to argue that Watts's works found audiences beyond those that the appearance and tone of the physical text might appear to invite. Chapter four steps back from the writings of Watts and Doddridge in order to consider other ways in which their reputations were formed, attacked, appropriated and defended. The chapter surveys published biographies of Watts and Doddridge. It analyses representations of each man to show that they continued to be regarded as figureheads for dissent at the end of the eighteenth century and beyond, but that their contributions to intellectual and religious life were debated and their reputations fiercely protected by certain dissenters. Genres such as denominational magazines and biographical compendia helped to sustain the memory and collective identity of dissent, while the encouragement to contribute to magazines, it is argued, facilitated debate about how individual dissenters should be remembered. Prefaces and printed debates are shown to have been means of interpreting lives and texts in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Considering the practice of editing and publicising biographies completes the exploration of dissenters' self-fashioning undertaken across the entire thesis. Throughout, the role of the editor in mediating between texts and readers emerges as a subject of attention.

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[92] Mark Rose surveys eighteenth-century developments in copyright law and booksellers' practice, 'Copyright, Authors and Censorship', in *CHBB*, V, 118-31. Forceful arguments about the control booksellers had over copyrights and the relative unimportance of authors in publishing arrangements have been made in Terry Belanger, 'Booksellers' Trade Sales, 1718-1768', *Library* 5th ser., 4 (1975), 281-302; Martha Woodmansee, 'The Genius and the Copyright: Economic and Legal Conditions of the Emergence of Authorship', *Eighteenth Century Studies*, 17 (1984), 425-48; John Feather, *Publishing, Piracy and Politics: An Historical Study of Copyright in Britain* (London, 1994); William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge, 2004).

In the epigraph to this introduction, Doddridge expresses his association with Isaac Watts in terms of their friendship, their religion, and their concerns for the future. Central to all of these aspects was a shared belief that publishing could strengthen the dissenting community and articulate the concerns of dissenting culture to a wider audience. The diverse pedagogical methods and subjects of study treated at academies provide the intellectual and social context to their published works and those of their successors. Their relationships with educators and religious leaders in other countries was also a significant dimension of their publishing activities, as was their desire to reach readers of all social, intellectual and religious backgrounds. The relations between these areas of activity and the writings which registered these connections are the central concerns of this study, which explores the work of Watts and Doddridge in terms of the associative networks of dissent. By treating the publishing, educational and social cultures of dissent together, the unique contribution dissenters made to literary and intellectual life in the eighteenth century and beyond can be understood.

Chapter One
Dissenting academy teaching in the tradition of John Jennings and Philip Doddridge

In his first weeks as a tutor, Philip Doddridge began to record 'An Account of the Exercises assign'd to my Pupils through out their whole Course' in a notebook. Beginning on 30 June 1729, he listed beside each student's name the task he had been set. In the first week, one of his students was to translate Pliny's letter to Erucius into English. In it, Pliny praises his friend Saturninus for his oratorical, epistolary and poetic style in terms that would provide useful hints to the eighteenth-century student making the translation. In the second week, each pupil was assigned a different English essay to translate into Latin. One was set Francis Bacon's essay on death, another his essay on adversity, and a third was to translate Addison's *Spectator* essay on the immortality of the soul. The fourth week's work suggests the first hiccup at the fledgling academy; one student was assigned '3^{d} week's Pliny', presumably because he had failed to complete the task to the required standard the previous week.[1] Though these students were candidates for the dissenting ministry, theology was by no means all their course covered. Proficiency in the classical languages and familiarity with polite learning was a feature of their education. The students were given classical and modern models of good writing to emulate from the start of their training.

Doddridge only recorded the exercises he had set for the first month in this notebook. Fortunately, evidence of the teaching that took place at his academy is richly documented in many extant lecture notes (both his own and those made by students), in remarks in letters, and in printed texts of his theological and preaching lectures. But though the record of his teaching in this particular notebook is sparse compared to other resources, his choice to use it at this time is significant. The volume had previously belonged to his own tutor, John Jennings. Jennings had used it to record a class-by-class timetable, various lists of books for students, dramatic scenes for students to improvise, and scripts of various prologues and epilogues to dramatic stories. Doddridge could refer to Jennings's own materials to help him in his teaching and, by using an item

[1] DWL MS NCL L.185, p. 81. I am grateful to the Director and Trustees of Dr Williams Library for permission to consult the collections in their care.

owned by his tutor to document his own first steps as a tutor, made a material connection between the two academies. He later used it to record books given to the academy, a list which shows that works Jennings had recommended to his pupils were donated to the academy started by his student, many of them by acquaintances who may have known Jennings. The contents of this notebook register the continuation of Jennings's intellectual tradition at Doddridge's academy, and it was later owned by yet another dissenting tutor, Thomas Belsham.[2] The notebook became a site for storing the efforts and ideas of different tutors.

In a long letter dated 1728, Doddridge described the course he had followed at the academy run by John Jennings. 'Academical exercises' very similar to those noted above were part of the course:

> Our Academical Exercises were continued Weekly through the first and second Half Years; nor were they wholly laid aside in the third, tho' much more frequently omitted in that than in either of the former. We began with translating some select Passages from Latin into English, and from English into Latin. And I particularly remember that some pages in the Spectators, and Tatlers both serious and humourous were assignd us on this Occasion. We used also to translate from one Style to another, v.g. to turn part of a Sermon of D^{r} Tillotson into Sprats style, and vice versa; which oblig'd us to enter more critically into the Characteristicks in the Style of our most celebrated Writers than it is probable we shou'd otherwise have done.[3]

This extensive description clearly refers to similar exercises to those Doddridge later set his own students, for some of the authors used are the same. Doddridge tells his readers that one purpose of these exercises was to make students engage with the means by which those Anglican clergymen most highly regarded for their homiletic style achieved the effects for which they were famed. Students were introduced to models of good style in preaching and both secular and religious writings so that they might absorb these 'Characteristicks' into their own work from the beginning of their training.

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[2] Belsham was assistant tutor at Daventry academy from 1770-78 and theological tutor there from 1781-89. See R. K. Webb, 'Belsham, Thomas (1750-1829)', *ODNB*.

[3] Doddridge, 'An Account of Mr Jennings's Method', fol. 8. This document appears in 'Dissenting Education and the Legacy of John Jennings, c.1720 – c.1729', ed. Whitehouse. 'v.g.' is an abbreviation of 'verbi gratia', meaning 'for example' (*OED*).

As this excerpt from Doddridge's 'Account of Mr Jennings's Method' reveals, Doddridge's own academy was modelled closely on that of his tutor, and Doddridge had made an effort to understand the pedagogical and intellectual purpose of each aspect of Jennings's course even before he began work as a tutor. It was through Doddridge's 'Account' that Jennings's academy became known to other dissenting ministers, most of whom were not familiar with the details of his course. Isaac Watts's reply to the 'Account' makes this clear:

> The little acquaintance I had with him [i.e. Jennings] made me esteem & love him, but my Love & Esteem were vastly too low for so sublime & elevated a Character. The World & y^{e} Church know not the Dimensions of that ^mourn full^ Vacancy which they sustain by his removall to y^{e} upper Regions.[4]

Doddridge's role in disseminating information about this educational system began informally, with descriptions of his experience at Jennings's academy in private letters to his mentor and brother-in-law. In 1725, he wrote a letter giving a fairly long description of the teaching for each class at Jennings's academy. The 'Account' quoted above was written in 1728, and it restructures and expands the letter from 1725. Its purpose, as the title page announces, is to provide 'An Account Of Mr Jennings's Method of Academical Education with some Reflections upon it In a Letter to a Friend who had some Thoughts of Reviving it'.[5] To this end, Doddridge proposes new subjects to be studied, and offers a schedule for the preparation he anticipates the tutor of this new academy will have to undertake. Though Doddridge's biographer Job Orton said that the 'Account' was intended for Samuel Benion, the addressee has not been identified. It may well be that the 'Friend' is a construct of Doddridge's, and that even at this stage he imagined that he himself would open an academy, which he did the following year.[6] The circulation of this 'Account' generated discussion about the establishment of a new academy – as exemplified by Watts's 'Reply' –

[4] Watts, 'Reply to Doddridge's "Account" ', fol. 1. This document appears in 'Dissenting Education and the Legacy of John Jennings, c.1720 – c.1729', ed. Whitehouse.
[5] A discussion of the genre of this 'letter' and some of its literary characteristics appears in Tessa Whitehouse, ' "Upon Reading Over the Whole of this Letter I am Sensibly Struck": Affectionate Networks and Schemes for Dissenting Academies', *Lives and Letters*, 3 (forthcoming, 2011).
[6] Orton, *Memoirs*, 49. For a fuller discussion of the question of the recipient, see the introduction to the transcription of this letter, at http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/drwilliams/pubs/Tessa/3)%20Introduction.pdf.

and this was Doddridge's aim: the epistolary form of the 'Account' denotes its communicative purpose. The culture of collaboration it demonstrates was a feature of dissenting education, and one which Doddridge and his successors encouraged. It is also a measure of the relatively non-hierarchical social and professional connections within dissent that the ideas of an inexperienced minister were taken seriously by such a respected figure as Isaac Watts, as the first stage in a collective endeavor to build a new academy.

Doddridge's influence on dissenting education can thus be seen to begin in 1728, before he had even begun to work as a tutor. He outlined the intellectual contours of any future academy (which included a very broad range of subjects to be studied and authors to be read), and enumerated the personal qualities a tutor ought to possess and the practices he should follow (such as regular private discussions with students). By depicting Jennings's academy as a successful and learned institution which would nevertheless benefit from being improved, Doddridge made a confident and optimistic statement about the intellectual world of dissent in the 1720s and the future of dissenting academies. This chapter examines materials relating to the course which Jennings originated, and describes how it was presented and taught by Doddridge and his successors, in order to set out one intellectual tradition of dissenting education. A close study of the structure and scope of two central parts of the course demonstrates that complex patterns of borrowing and adaptation of material took place at dissenting academies. Finally, the forms in which Doddridge circulated his own ideas about education and presented the example of his academy to other educators are described in order to show that his model of education became influential beyond his own tradition. The liberal character of the content and conduct of Doddridge's course presented here is the educational context to the publishing projects investigated in later chapters.

1. John Jennings's academy course

First, a little about Doddridge's own intellectual formation. Orphaned at a young age, he passed into the care of Samuel Clark, a Presbyterian minister in St

Albans who provided him with some education.[7] In 1718 the countess of Bedford, Lady Russell, offered to support Doddridge at either of the universities so that he could take orders in the Church of England.[8] Doddridge chose instead to be educated among the dissenters, and in October 1719 arrived at John Jennings's academy in Kibworth, the primary purpose of which was to train candidates for the dissenting ministry.[9]

Every academy was different, for each tutor set his own course and decided whether to accept lay students alongside ministerial candidates. Theology was always the focus of the academy course, but a range of other subjects were taught as well. Students at Jennings's academy followed a four-year course, divided into eight half-years which ran from September to January and February to June. Information about the order of subjects studied and the curriculum comes from Jennings's own timetable for each class, a letter he wrote to a prospective parent, and Doddridge's letters.[10] The introductory phase of the course, occupying the first year and a half, consisted of lectures in mathematics and natural philosophy, classical languages and French, civil history, Jewish antiquities and logic. In the fourth half-year students began pneumatology, the first part of the theological course, while completing their introductory studies. For the third and fourth years, students concentrated on pneumatology, ethics, and divinity (the interconnected theological course devised by Jennings) while studying ecclesiastical history and the history of controversies, and preparing theological disputations and homilies. The final part of the course introduced lectures on preaching and pastoral care, which offered practical guidance on undertaking ministerial duties. Outside the lecture room, students practised public speaking and acted in dramatic interludes on Wednesday evenings and often began to preach publicly in their seventh half-year.[11] Throughout a

[7] Clark received grants from the Presbyterian Fund Board for Doddridge's education between 3 November 1718 and 4 April 1720: see DWL MS OD68, Presbyterian Fund Board Minutes, II, 5 Feb. 1694/5 – 4 Jun. 1722 (337, 344, 352, 362). I am grateful to David Wykes for these references.
[8] See Rivers, 'Doddridge'.
[9] Several of Jennings's students later conformed to the Church of England: see Wykes, 'Jennings'.
[10] See 'Dissenting Education and the Legacy of John Jennings, c.1720 – c.1729', ed. Whitehouse.
[11] Doddridge started preaching in September 1722 at the beginning of his seventh half-year, to Jennings's congregation: see *Cal.* 31. He was examined in January 1723 by 'a committee of the neighbouring ministers . . . chosen for that purpose at a general county meeting': see Humphreys,

student's four years at the academy, Bible reading in Hebrew, Greek and French was a constant feature. Students were also encouraged to undertake additional reading on topics not covered in their lectures for a particular half-year.[12] While theological training was the core of the academy, a significant feature of Jennings's system was that students received a wide grounding in the subjects of polite learning.

The first extant record of Doddridge's experience of John Jennings's course comes in letters written to his mentor and sponsor Samuel Clark and to his brother-in-law John Nettleton on 13 December 1721 and 20 December 1721 respectively. These two letters contain much of the same information, and in the latter, Doddridge tells Nettleton that:

> Our course this last half year has been as follows. Monday, pneumatology & ethicks – Tuesday, pneumatological disputations – Wednesday, pneumatology and ethicks – Thursday, pneumatology & ethicks, and Saturday, critics.[13]

According to Jennings's timetable, this is the work of the fifth class. Doddridge's phrasing ('this last half year') suggests he is coming to the end of this phase of study, a supposition that dovetails chronologically with the next surviving account of his studies, on 22 September 1722, where he says that he is in his seventh half-year:

> Our course of study this half year is as follows – on Monday, we read divinity. on Tuesday, Ecclesiastical history. on Wednesday & Thursday, divinity again. and on Friday, we have a theological disputation. Saturday, is vacant as usual.[14]

I, 171. For Doddridge's account of the examination, see JRUL UCC MS B2, p. 134 (dated 26 January 1722); *Cal*. 48; Humphreys, I, 189-90 (dated 28 January 1723).

[12] Doddridge gave accounts of his reading in letters to Clark and Nettleton, from which it is clear that he maintained his classical reading even after he had completed the first half of the academy course: see JRUL UCC MS B2, p. 4. Jennings guided his students in their extra-curricular reading: 'it was by my tutor's advice, that I defer'd reading [Locke] entirely over till this half year.' Philip Doddridge to Samuel Clark, 13 December 1721. JRUL UCC MS B2, p. 1; *Cal.* 3; Humphreys, I, 41. Quotations from JRUL UCC MS B2 are reproduced by courtesy of the University Librarian and Director of The John Rylands University, The University of Manchester.

[13] Philip Doddridge to John Nettleton, 20 December 1721. JRUL UCC MS B2, p. 4; *Cal.* 3; Humphreys, I, 43.

[14] Philip Doddridge to Samuel Clark, 22 September 1722. JRUL UCC MS B2, p. 94; *Cal.* 35; Humphreys, I, 155.

This summary does not quite match Jennings's timetable for the seventh half-year, in which Monday, not Saturday, is a free day while Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday mornings have lectures on 'Theologia'. Thursdays also have a 'Thesis Theologica Examinanda' and, in the afternoon, 'Concio Theologica' (i.e. a theological speech). On Wednesday mornings, a lecture on 'Historia Ecclesiastica examinanda' is timetabled and on Fridays students are to present a 'Disputatio Theologica'. These slight differences between Doddridge's studies and Jennings's timetable for the seventh half-year show that the exact timetable was not fixed from year to year, but that the general pattern of the course was consistent.

After beginning the second half of the academy course, Doddridge described the pneumatological, ethical and critical lectures quite minutely, suggesting that Clark and Nettleton were not familiar with the details of Jennings's course:

> Our Ethicks are interwoven wth pneumatology, & make a very considerable part of it they are mostly collected from Puffendorf and Grotius, & contain no very surprizing discoveries, but seem to be built on a very rational foundation, & comprize a great deal in a few words. Ethicks & pneumatology we have just finished. – Our Criticks are an extraction of M^{r} Jennings, & treat of such subjects as y^{e} antiquity of y^{e} Hebrew language & points, y^{e} Masorra, Cabbala, Talmud, y^{e} Seventy, & other versions of y^{e} Bible. We have continually large references to Buxtorf Prideaux & other authors of great note. I think it y^{e} least entertaining part of our studies but I hope it may be of some use to us, & so rub thro' it as well as I can.[15]

Here, Doddridge explicitly notes that the *content* of the course is not unusual, but that the compressed method of presenting points of theology and references to significant writers is helpful to a student. In his accounts of Jennings's course, Doddridge emphasises that it was Jennings's arrangement of subjects across the course and presentation of information within each lecture that constituted the particularity of his system. The other crucial feature of the course was the encouragement of liberal thought.[16] 'M^{r} J encourages y^{e} greatest freedom of

[15] Philip Doddridge to John Nettleton, 20 December 1721. JRUL UCC MS B2, p. 4; *Cal.* 8; Humphreys, I, 43-4.

[16] Martin Fitzpatrick notes that the principle of free enquiry was an important aspect of the candour characteristic of debate among Rational Dissenters later in the century: see Martin Fitzpatrick, 'Heretical Religion and Radical Political Ideas in Late Eighteenth-Century England',

Enquiry' Doddridge told Clark, explaining that in teaching the central doctrines of Christianity, 'M^{r} J has not follow'd y^{e} doctrines or phrases of any particular party; but is sometimes a calvinist, sometimes an arminian, & sometimes a Baxterian, as truth & evidence determine him.'[17] Doddridge was later to present this method as being as motivated by Jennings's conviction that free enquiry was essential to understanding Christianity, and that by following it, Jennings 'was animating us to the most laborious Enquiry after Truth'.[18]

2. Doddridge's 'Account of Mr Jennings's Method'

Doddridge's detailed account of Jennings's academy, 'An Account of Mr Jennings's Method', gives a clear sense of the range of the course. This manuscript, dated 1728, builds on a letter Doddridge wrote in 1725 describing the course, but has a vastly extended scope and does not retain the structure of the earlier letter even in places where the material is the same. For example, in the 1725 letter, Doddridge describes the subjects and reading for each half-year of the four-year course sequentially, whereas in 'An Account of Mr Jennings's Method', he lists the subjects for all the half-years together and then in a separate section lists the authors read for each subject. A third section suggesting additional or replacement reading retains this method of ordering material by subject rather than half-year of study.[19]

As well as listing the subjects studied and the reading set, 'An Account of Mr Jennings's Method' also explains Jennings's rationale for the teaching of these subjects in this order. Doddridge reiterates that Jennings had carefully calculated the proportion of time to be devoted to each subject. Before introducing the additional reading he would recommend for the mathematical part of the course, Doddridge allows himself a 'Digression' in which he

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in *The Transformation of Political Culture: England and Germany in the Late Eighteenth Century*, ed. Eckhart Hellmuth (Oxford, 1990), 339-74 (346).

[17] Philip Doddridge to Samuel Clark, 22 September 1722. JRUL UCC MS B2, p. 94; *Cal.* 35, Humphreys, I, 156.

[18] Doddridge, 'An Account of Mr Jennings's Method', fol. 39.

[19] It is important to clarify the differences between the two letters, because the 1725 letter was the only one known to earlier historians of Jennings's academy, and they wrongly presented Watts's 'Reply to Doddridge's "Account" ' as a response to it. For a detailed comparison of the two letters, see 'Dissenting Education and the Legacy of John Jennings, c.1720 – c.1729', ed. Whitehouse.

expounds Jennings's idea that, while understanding of the principles of mathematics is an essential foundation for learning, trainee ministers 'had a Variety of other Business before them too important to give Way to a very eager Pursuit, of the abstruser Parts of the Mathematicks'.[20] Jennings's scheme did not demand that students should read widely and deeply on complex mathematical questions. Instead, he perceived the value of mathematics to be that it 'might render them capable of thinking with greater steadiness and Accuracy on other Subjects of Enquiry'.[21] Doddridge embeds this instrumental view within a broader idea about pedagogy, recommending that the course of education be considered holistically:

> this Thought shou'd be carried along with us in judging of all the Branches of a Scheme for Academical Education. Each Part is to be regarded in its Proportion & Relation to the rest, and the great Question is concerning the whole how far it is calculated to promote the usefulness of those that go thro it and not concerning the Provision which is made for Improvement in any single part of knowledge consider'd in an abstracted view.[22]

Doddridge prepares the reader's mind for the account to be read by suggesting the terms in which both Jennings's course and his own proposed additions to it should be assessed. Doddridge connects Jennings's idea that the skills developed in one sphere of education will form the basis of later patterns of learning with his own project of developing Jennings's course by extending the metaphor of learning as an organic whole. A body, made up of interconnected parts, grows. Thus Jennings's course, conceived as an organic body, not only *can* absorb additions but *requires* them.

Having created a framework within which the reader may assess his suggestions for the improvement of the course, Doddridge addresses each subject in turn. He emphasises that the practice of mathematical enquiry should be continued for as long as possible, for 'This wou'd prevent that forgetfulness of these kinds of Operations' which are essential to maintain an active and interrogative mind.[23] Doddridge's account of the mathematical part of the course emphasises the crucial role it was considered to play in preparation for the

[20] Doddridge, 'An Account of Mr Jennings's Method', fols. 13-14.
[21] Doddridge, 'An Account of Mr Jennings's Method', fol. 13.
[22] Doddridge, 'An Account of Mr Jennings's Method', fols. 13-14.
[23] Doddridge, 'An Account of Mr Jennings's Method', fol. 15.

pneumatology, ethics and divinity course; to Doddridge, the connection between mathematical thinking and philosophical understanding articulated by John Locke was an essential component of Jennings's course.[24] Though Jennings was unusual within dissenting circles for the degree to which he emphasised the connection between the two strands of learning, references to works by Isaac Barrow in both the mathematical and the pneumatological sections of the course build on an accepted connection between the subjects and locate Jennings, along with Barrow, in the Newtonian tradition.[25] By proposing that William Whiston's demonstrations of Euclid be added to the mathematics course, Doddridge was strengthening the connection Jennings made between mathematics and philosophy and introducing students to the work of a notoriously heterodox writer. However, Doddridge himself was orthodox in his views, and did not anticipate that his teaching would encourage heterodox opinion in his students.

Doddridge calls for Jennings's treatment of physics to be updated. His suggestions for the introduction of recent works on natural philosophy – such as Henry Pemberton's digest of Isaac Newton which was published in 1728 – indicates that in this area Doddridge kept his reading up-to-date. As well as expanding the existing lectures and references on astronomy, anatomy and physics, Doddridge's key suggestion for the development of the course was to enhance the element of practical experimentation. He anticipates the objection that purchasing scientific apparatus such as an air pump, a microscope and a telescope would be too expensive and suggests that students give a partially refundable donation on entering the academy.[26] Notebooks owned by Doddridge contain additional diagrams of mathematical apparatus drawn by the tutor Caleb Ashworth, indicating that the practical element of natural philosophy was

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[24] 'would you have a Man reason well, you must use him to it betimes, exercise his Mind in observing the Connection of Ideas and following them in train. Nothing does this better than Mathematicks, which therefore I think should be taught all those who have the time and opportunity, not so much to make them Mathematicians, as to make them reasonable Creatures'. John Locke, 'The Conduct of the Understanding', in *Posthumous Works of Mr John Locke* (London, 1706), 26.

[25] Feingold makes the point that Barrow perceived divinity, not mathematics, to be his true vocation. Barrow's translation of Euclid was the foundation for geometry teaching at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge as well as at dissenting academies. See Mordechai Feingold, 'Barrow, Isaac (1630–1677)', *ODNB*.

[26] In a letter to Ebenezer Hankins, his wife's uncle, Doddridge noted that Lady Russell had donated a pair of globes to the academy, and said he would welcome a microscope. 10 May 1731. *Cal*. 358. Malcolm Deacon says that the academy received gifts of a pair of globes from Lady Russell and a microscope from Dr Beard: see Malcolm Deacon, *Philip Doddridge of Northampton, 1702-51* (Northampton, 1980), 98.

promoted at Doddridge's academy and continued by Doddridge's successor.[27] Evidence that Doddridge did adapt the course he taught in the way he suggests in 'An Account of Mr Jennings's Method' can be found in various notebooks of lecture notes which previously belonged to Jennings and have been added to by Doddridge or which contain Doddridge's version of Jennings's notes with further additions of Doddridge's own.[28]

In contrast to his high praise for Jennings's mathematics teaching, Doddridge introduces his suggestions for the improvement of language teaching with a blunt assessment of Jennings's course: 'that part of it which related to Philology was in my judgment the most imperfect of all the studies we went through with M^r^ Jennings especially with Regard to the Classical Writers'. Doddridge connects this criticism with the topic he has just addressed, accounting for Jennings's weakness thus:

> I believe the Principal Reason was, that our Tutor had employ'd himself so much in the study of Mathematicks, and Divinity (on which he bestow'd immense Labour in abstracted Thought Reading those Books which had the most immediate Relation to those Subjects.) This hinder'd him from forming any intimate or extensive Acquaintances with the Classics but he was far from being an intire Stranger to them, and I never knew any that studied them so little, that seem'd to understand them so well.[29]

It appears that Doddridge wished to devote more attention to models of polished writing, for he suggests an extensive programme of reading including 'some few Lectures at least from Herodotus, Thucydes [i.e. Thucydides], Xenophon, Plato, Demosthenes, Sophocles, Euripides.'[30] It is difficult to recover these parts of Doddridge's own course, as they do not appear in the published *A Course of*

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[27] Alexander Gordon, 'Ashworth, Caleb (*d.* 1775)', rev. W. N. Terry, *ODNB*. Ashworth was divinity tutor at Daventry academy from 1752 to 1775.

[28] See, for example, the following DWL NCL MSS: L.227/1 is John Jennings's 'Arithmetica' with Doddridge's additions; L.113/1 is an 'Appendix to John Jennings's Algebra' in Doddridge's hand; L.114 is Doddridge's shorthand notes on John Eames's lectures on Anatomy. L.113/2 , L.171 and L.559/1-12 are all notebooks of lecture notes in Doddridge's hand which bear marks of use by a later hand. Doddridge's use of notes by Eames, along with the presence of 'Phaenomena Hydrostatica *Per J.E.*' (i.e. 'John Eames') in John Jennings's printed volume for academy students, *Miscellanea in usum juventutis academicae* (Northampton, 1721), indicate the circulation of resources among dissenting tutors in the 1720s. Eames was tutor of the dissenting academy at Moorfields, London. See Alexander Gordon, 'Eames, John (1686–1744)', rev. Alan Ruston, *ODNB*.

[29] Doddridge, 'An Account of Mr Jennings's Method', fol. 17.

[30] Doddridge, 'An Account of Mr Jennings's Method', fol. 18.

Lectures and none of the extant lecture notes appear to cover philology. Andrew Kippis, as classical tutor at Hoxton academy from 1763 to 1784 and tutor of rhetoric and *belles lettres* at New College Hackney from 1786 to 1791, had a personal interest in this part of the course, and his biography of Doddridge gives the most information on the teaching of languages and literature at Northampton academy.[31] He makes exactly the same criticism of Doddridge that Doddridge had of Jennings nearly seventy years earlier, that 'Dr Doddridge was not, in every instance, so attentive to the classical preparation of the students received into his seminary, as could have been wished', indicating that Doddridge had not made the improvements he proposed.[32] The same was true of modern European languages. Doddridge recommends:

> a few Lectures on the Spanish & Italian languages. After Latin and French they are ^very^ easily Learn'd . . . It may therefore be more adviseable to give them only a Lecture or two on the Manner of studying Spanish and Italian, directing them to the best Grammars and Dictionaries and some Hints of the other Authors they shou'd begin with.[33]

There is no evidence that these suggestions were taken up: while both Kippis and Orton (also a former student) discuss reading French at the academy, neither mentions Spanish or Italian.[34]

Doddridge treats classical and biblical languages as the two main strands of the philology course, and makes the ambitious suggestion that students be introduced to all the biblical languages:

> Mr Jennings understood Hebrew to a great Deal of Exactness and easily let us into so much of the Knowledge of it as was necessary to our Reading the Bible with some Readiness . . . He also taught us something of the Chaldee, but it was a very little. I wish we had been made more perfect in it, and particularly that we had read some of the Targums, at least part of Onkelos. If you go thus far with your Pupils. It will be an easy matter to teach them the Syriac Language, which has so great an affinity with the

[31] Kippis had been a student at Doddridge's academy in the 1740s. See Alan Ruston, 'Kippis, Andrew (1725–1795)', *ODNB*.
[32] *Biographia Britannica*, V, 279.
[33] Doddridge, 'An Account of Mr Jennings's Method', fol. 20.
[34] Orton, *Memoirs*, 90 and *Biographia Britannica*, V, 279.

> two former: and as for the Samaritan as it is only the work of a few Hours, I think it shou'd not be neglected.[35]

There is a tension in 'An Account of Mr Jennings's Method' between Doddridge's suggestions, which entail an extensive study of various different languages, and his acknowledgment that there is not sufficient time available to do all he suggests. The timescales appended to these schemes indicate that it was not intended that the languages be taught to any great level of fluency, but still Doddridge's proposals sound over-ambitious. There is no evidence that these suggestions found their way into the curriculum at Northampton academy, where reading competence in the biblical languages eluded some students, according to Andrew Kippis in his biography of Doddridge. 'It would give me pleasure,' he relates, 'If I could say, that some of the young men never slily placed an English Bible by the side of the Hebrew one'.[36] While Doddridge saw that Jennings's scheme would benefit from improvements in the teaching of languages, it appears from Kippis's account that he did not manage to effect these himself. In his 'Account' Doddridge was presenting an ideal scheme and, even though not everything he suggested was achieved, these proposals demonstrate his awareness of the components of a comprehensive learned education and his wish that dissenting academies should adopt them.

Proficiency in oriental languages was important because of their connection to ecclesiastical history and biblical criticism, and all these subjects also fed into the ethics and theology course. Doddridge devotes considerable space to presenting a connected and expanded way of teaching ancient, ecclesiastical and civil history and Jewish antiquities, and presenting lectures on scholarly accounts of the history of the Bible. The extant manuscript notebook in Doddridge's hand on Jewish antiquities suggests that Doddridge also developed these parts of the course independently.[37]

Comparing, where possible, Doddridge's suggested changes with what was taught at his own academy, reveals that while there were some additions to

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[35] Doddridge, 'An Account of Mr Jennings's Method', fol. 19. Chaldee (Aramaic) was the language of Chaldea, a country known for occult science and magic in Old Testament times (*OED*).
[36] *Biographia Britannica*, V, 278.
[37] A copy of Doddridge's lectures on Jewish antiquities in his own hand survive, DWL MS NCL L.102. These are in shorthand.

Jennings's course, students at Northampton academy followed a curriculum relatively close to that instituted by Jennings in the 1710s. The range of studies in the non-theological part of the course, and the attention they received, is striking. As well as being important components of a general education, many of the preparatory subjects were seen to contribute to the theology course. Doddridge's careful explanation of the beneficial habits of mind formed by mathematical study, for example, or the framing of his discussion of language-learning in terms of biblical understanding, demonstrate that in the educational programme instituted by Jennings, the entire system contributed practically and intellectually to ministerial training. Doddridge's emphasis on the intellectual rigour demanded by Jennings and the way in which he foregrounds the traditional elements of a polite education in his account of Jennings's course show that he had thought carefully about the nature and purpose of the education provided by a dissenting academy, and concluded that general learning and theological training could not be separated. That this was a key tenet of Doddridge's own pedagogy is noted in both Job Orton's and Andrew Kippis's accounts of Doddridge's academy: they each write that 'He was more and more convinced, the longer he lived, of the great Importance of a *learned* as well as a *pious* Education for the Ministry'.[38] Doddridge himself emphasises that one of the central aspects of Jennings's educational philosophy was that expertise in classical or learned subjects was not ancillary, but crucial to ministerial training. This tenet was absorbed and developed by Doddridge and transmitted to his own students. By stressing the fact that a dissenting education offered knowledge of a *range* of subjects, Jennings and Doddridge were positioning their academies as comparable to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge and suggesting that their education developed the taste as well as learning of a gentleman.[39]

3. A sample of Doddridge's changes: pneumatology, ethics and divinity

While Doddridge repeatedly declared his high regard for Jennings's course, a key feature of his 'Account' was the improvements he proposed. Lectures in

[38] Orton, *Memoirs*, 90. Kippis is borrowing from Orton at this point of his article in *Biographia Britannica*, V, 279.
[39] Jennings's printed textbook *Miscellanea* includes articles on heraldry, fortification and architecture which introduced students to these pastimes of a gentleman.

pneumatology, ethics and divinity formed the core of dissenting academy education in the tradition to which Doddridge belonged, and Doddridge's own lectures on these subjects were printed, making it possible to see their development from Jennings's course.

The philosophical and theological part of the course dominated two-and-a-half years of a ministerial student's four years at the academy, and Doddridge describes it as being 'thrown into a mathematical form' and structured according to geometrical terms.[40] The other remarkable element of this course was its treatment of the three subjects as sequential aspects of a single intellectual endeavour.[41]

Pneumatology was an essential component of eighteenth-century philosophy of religion, defined by the *OED* as:

> the science, doctrine, or theory of spirits or spiritual beings. In the 17th cent. considered as forming a department of metaphysics, usually opposed to *ontology*, and comprehending the doctrine of God as known by natural reason, of angels and demons, and of the human soul.[42]

Doddridge himself defined it more fully:

> the Nature and Properties of the Human Mind, the Proof of the Existence and Attributes of GOD, the Nature of Moral Virtue, the various Branches of it, the Means subservient to it, and the Sanctions by which its Precepts, considered as God's *Natural Law*, are inforced; under which Head the natural Evidence of the *Immortality of the Soul* was largely examined.[43]

Doddridge's description shifts the emphasis away from the study of spiritual beings and on to the nature of God and God's relations to man. Divinity, to Doddridge, is the knowledge of God and Christianity as derived from the Bible. His definition of pneumatology stresses that it provides the foundations for understanding the principles and doctrines of Christian ethics and theology

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[40] Doddridge, 'An Account of Mr Jennings's Method', fol. 9.
[41] This section considers the structure and scope of the theology lectures. For studies of its content see Rivers *The Defence of Truth Through the Knowledge of Error* and Simon Mills, 'Joseph Priestley and the Intellectual Culture of Rational Dissent, 1752-1796' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of London, 2009), Chapter one.
[42] 'pneumatology': *OED*, definition 1. a.
[43] Doddridge, 'Life of Thomas Steffe', in Thomas Steffe, *Sermons on Several Subjects* (London, 1742), xv.

which would follow it. The inseparable connection between pneumatology and theology is particularly emphasised in Doddridge's account of the course in 'An Account of Mr Jennings's Method':

> The first part [i.e. pneumatology] contain'd an Enquiry into the Existence and Perfections of God and the Nature Operations and Immortality of the Humane Soul with those were interwoven our Ethical Lectures which were thrown into the same demonstrative form and the Continuance of both was Our Divinity which contained a Demonstration of the Truth of Christianity, an Examination into the Authority and Inspiration of the Scripture and then an account of the Religion laid down there shewing how the Discoveries w^{ch} our Natural Light had afforded were confirm'd there and what new Information was given us with Regard to Doctrines which wou'd have otherwise have been unknown. Under each of these Heads there was a noble Collection of References w^{ch} gave an abundance of Entertainment. And as M^{r} Jennings had bestow'd a great Deal of Pains upon those Lectures his Discourses from them were incomparably good.[44]

While Doddridge clearly means that the course as a whole demonstrates the truth of Christianity, the term 'demonstration' is borrowed from the course itself, in which material is ordered according to the mathematical method of a series of 'propositions' and 'definitions' illustrated by 'demonstrations', supplemented by 'corollaries' and modified or contested by 'scholia'. Each element of the structure is furnished with references to classical and modern writers and to the Bible. The references often present opposing views on a matter, whether of doctrine, interpretation or historical fact. Both the mathematical structure and the practice of providing references to a range of opinions were unusual features for a theology course, and Isaac Watts was among the first to question their suitability, noting that 'I query whether Ethics or any practick Science should be delivered in a Mathematick form'.[45] It is striking that Doddridge, who otherwise accepted Watts's caveats and changed his proposed course according to Watts's views, remained firm on the matter of the mathematical method:

> It is with the humblest Deference to the vastly superior Judgement of D^{r} Watts that I still think M^{r} Jennings's Method of Treating Logical & Ethical Subjects of all others the most proper for Academical Lectures.[46]

[44] Doddridge, 'An Account of Mr Jennings's Method', fols. 11-12.
[45] Watts, 'Reply to Doddridge's "Account" ', fol. 2v.
[46] Watts, 'Reply to Doddridge's "Account" ', fol. 4.

While he made strong claims for the value and uniqueness of Jennings's system of teaching theology, Doddridge acknowledged in his accounts of the course that improvements ought to be made. Evidence that he did so (quite apart from the printed text of *A Course of Lectures*) can be seen in the fact that, under Doddridge, this part of the course occupied more time than it did under Jennings. Job Orton claimed 'the chief Object of their [the students'] Attention and Study, during three Years of their Course, was his *System of Divinity*, in the largest Extent of the Word; including what is most material in *Pneumatology* and *Ethics*.'[47] Allowing an extra six months or more for study suggests that Doddridge had incorporated considerable fresh material into the course. Certainly his suggestions for additions to Jennings's theology course are lengthy. They fall into two categories. First he suggests making additions to existing references:

> Many of them [the references] were made in haste, and on a general Survey; so that some of them may be shorten'd, and not a few be superseded by others more valuable and important ... I need not remind you of many admirable Books which have been publish'd since he dyed (which was 1723) that will afford you a great Variety of References, equal to any which are to be found in our Lectures. But it may be more unnecessary to add, that several of the Books which he has made most frequent use of, are not so exhausted as that you have nothing farther to expect from them.[48]

Secondly he suggests that there are some new topics which ought to be incorporated into the course: 'I think it will be necessary to draw up a few Lectures on some Heads of Divinity, which are either intirely omitted in our System, or touch'd on in too transient a Manner'. These include 'the Question of the Cannon of Scripture' and 'the Books which M^r^ Whiston has attempted to introduce into it'.[49] Doddridge particularly emphasises the benefit of employing Jennings's mathematical method to provide an overview of recent controversies:

> Above all it will be highly necessary to review the late controversy about the Grounds of the Christian Religion, so celebrated and so important. The

[47] Orton, *Memoirs*, 92.
[48] Doddridge, 'An Account of Mr Jennings's Method', fol. 24.
[49] Doddridge, 'An Account of Mr Jennings's Method', fol. 25. William Whiston, *Essay Towards Restoring the True Text of the Old Testament* (London, 1722) appears in the index to *A Course of Lectures* (1763). The additions suggested here appear in part VI of *A Course of Lectures* (1763), 298, 340 and elsewhere. Lecture 143 discusses the divine inspiration behind Moses's writings.

> most considerable Authors of both sides shou'd be studied, & whatever is most material in them shou'd be thrown together in a few words, and a clear Order.[50]

The structure allows for the inclusion of controversial material because the mathematical method 'proves' the correctness of orthodoxy.[51] To support the inclusion of this kind of material, Doddridge notes that the structure of Jennings's course invites additions:

> These Lectures with their Proper References shou'd be wrought in the most convenient Places in the Body of M[r] Jennings's System, which when you come to examine it you will immediately discover, for every Thing in there is most regularly dispos'd.[52]

Although Jennings's course might not be complete, its method is shown by Doddridge to be ideal, both for the concise and accurate way it conveys information on complex topics to students, and also structurally because it is capable of absorbing additions without disrupting the existing arrangement of the course. Its flexibility was its key benefit, allowing Doddridge to introduce works by William Whiston to the theology course, for instance. This example also demonstrates another valuable function of the mathematical method: students could be referred to controversial writers while the course itself still reached orthodox conclusions. The encouragement of liberal thought within certain limits set by the tutor constitutes the key intellectual feature of Doddridge's educational system that he inherited from Jennings.

4. The circulation and use of Doddridge's lectures

[50] Part II of *A Course of Lectures*, on 'The being of God and his natural perfections' does cover these controversies, including summaries and rebuttals of Colliber and Berkeley at proposition 43 and in an appendix to part II respectively. See Rivers, *The Defence of Truth Through the Knowledge of Error*, 16-18.

[51] 'Mathematics shines a bright light by which the Mosaic History of the Creation of the world and of the Deluge is vindicated from the odious charge of falsehood; by which the Arguments of Theists are triumphed over and repelled; by which Hypotheses most pernicious to the holy scriptures are dispelled' wrote John Jennings in DWL MS NCL L.227/1, translated from Latin by David Powell, Senior Cataloguer, Congregational Library, and quoted by Rivers in *The Defence of Truth Through the Knowledge of Error*, 8-9.

[52] Doddridge, 'An Account of Mr Jennings's Method', fol. 25.

Historians of dissent have tended to agree that Doddridge's course was influential, usually basing their claims on information given in biographies of Doddridge or because they have noted that there is a considerable quantity of extant lecture notes which name Doddridge. However, the encouragement to read works from a variety of doctrinal and denominational perspectives meant that Doddridge's system was contentious in some circles.[53] His influence on dissenting education was not straightforward. This section will investigate Doddridge's influence by describing the use of Doddridge's own lectures in other academies, and examining how his lectures were adapted, and where this happened. It will concentrate on the two parts of the dissenting academy course most important to ministerial training: the theological lectures, and lectures on preaching and pastoral care.

While the survival of numerous manuscript copies of lectures for these subjects makes such a study possible, there are some problems associated with the use of these sources.[54] Many manuscripts are not named or dated, so it cannot be known who made them or when. Together, they do not allow a complete chronological survey of the use of Doddridge's lectures, but instead provide snapshots of teaching in different academies at different times. Furthermore, each snapshot is incomplete because the vast majority of the lectures are written in shorthand. This was integral to Doddridge's system, and was one of the first things students learned on arrival at the academy.[55] Other tutors promoted the use of shorthand too. In an introductory lecture, Caleb Ashworth explained to his students that shorthand had two advantages: it allowed for swift copying of large quantities of material, and would 'also prevent some Inconvenience from its being subject to every eye'.[56] What was to Ashworth a benefit of shorthand – that it protected the intimate details of the lectures from unfriendly eyes – is frustrating to researchers unable to read the materials.[57] Though the lecture notes

[53] Evangelical dissenters such as the historians David Bogue and James Benett, the Baptist Robert Hall, and Thomas Turton (the Regius Professor of Divinity at the University of Cambridge in 1835) all objected to the freedom of enquiry promoted by Doddridge's course. See Rivers, *The Defence of Truth Through the Knowledge of Error*, 27-8.
[54] For lists of the dissenting academy manuscript materials cited in this chapter, see Appendix I.
[55] Doddridge, 'Life of Thomas Steffe', xiv.
[56] CHCN Blackmore MS 1, fol. 4.
[57] A variety of shorthand systems were in use during the eighteenth century. The version used by Doddridge was his own simplified version of Jeremiah Rich's method: see Françoise Deconinck-Brossard, 'La Sténographie de Philip Doddridge (1702-1751)', *Bulletin de la Société D'études*

cannot be read in their entirety, references to authors and page numbers are often given in longhand, and sometimes running heads are too. In these cases, different manuscripts can be compared to each other, and to printed editions of Doddridge's lectures. Though the conclusions that can be drawn from a comparison of manuscripts are largely limited to noting the arrangement of materials and the texts to which students are referred, even these partial insights reveal a great deal about the ways in which different tutors used Doddridge's methods and materials.[58]

i) Pneumatology, ethics, and divinity

John Jennings's course was the basis for Doddridge's academy, and Doddridge acknowledged his intellectual debt to Jennings throughout his 'Account of Mr Jennings's Method' and in his letters to friends. Once Doddridge was established as a tutor, though, the course became uniquely identified with him. Manuscript copies of lecture notes by him and his students are never attributed to Jennings, unlike teaching materials from later academies which often identify that they derive from Doddridge's.[59] The reasons for this are not clear. Title pages of manuscripts attest to Doddridge's influence: 'Divinity Lectures Drawn up by P. Doddridge, D.D.', 'Lectures on Divinity chiefly extracted from the Books principally referred to upon that subject by D^{r} Doddridge M^{r} Belsham &c', 'A System of Theological Lectures drawn up by P. Doddridge DD.' and so on.[60] The connection is especially strong in materials from Daventry academy, which was the immediate successor to Doddridge's own, and which was led for many years by his former student Caleb Ashworth.

Several full sets of student notes survive from Daventry academy, and indicate the close resemblance of the education there to the course taught by

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Anglo-Americaines des XVII^{e} et XVIII^{e} Siècles, 12 (1981), 29-43. There are currently only two people making transcriptions of the shorthand in use at Daventry academy.

[58] An incomplete set of Caleb Ashworth's lectures on pneumatology, ethics and civil government based on Doddridge's and made by Thomas Blackmore in the 1760s is in longhand (CHCN Blackmore MSS 1-3 and 6-9). Several sets of Doddridge's 'Lectures on Preaching' are also in longhand, and these will be described below.

[59] The reasons for this are not clear. It is not possible to see how extensively Doddridge altered Jennings's pneumatology course, because only the second part of the theology course survives: see DWL MS 28.117. One notable change Doddridge made was to teach in English rather than Latin.

[60] DWL MS 28.39, HMCO Heineken MS 6, DWL MS NCL L.29/12.

Doddridge. A ten-volume series of notebooks that contains lecture notes made in shorthand by Samuel Henley illustrate this.[61] The first volume has a dated title page (1759) which places them relatively near the start of Ashworth's career as a tutor. The books indicate careful composition and attention to detail, for some have a title page, and all have a clear heading for each new section. They are all foliated and ruled throughout with left and right margins and header-boxes, which generally contain the lecture number, often the proposition numbers and usually a running-head (which is often, but not always, in shorthand). The volumes are grouped into sections: two volumes of pneumatology lectures, two of Jewish antiquities, two of lectures on the evidences of Christianity in the Old and New Testaments, three of divinity lectures, and one of lectures on preaching. The careful arrangement of the notebooks indicates that Henley probably prepared them with the intention of referring to them in the future. Henley noted the dates on which he completed some volumes. The final theology volume is dated 15 October 1761 and the lectures on preaching 17 September 1761, indicating that Henley attended these lectures concurrently. Seven of the notebooks largely match the order of the printed *A Course of Lectures*, and their headings indicate that much of the material covers the same topics.[62] Some

[61] DWL MSS 28.35-28.44. Samuel Henley was admitted to Queens' College, Cambridge on 28 November 1770 at the age of thirty, having been ordained deacon in the Church of England on 21 December 1769 by the Bishop of London. He was educated at Daventry academy under Caleb Ashworth and was minister of the Presbyterian meeting at Green Street, Cambridge between 1762 and 1769. In 1770 took up the post of Professor of moral philosophy at William and Mary College, Virginia. He returned to England in 1775, became Vicar at Rendlesham in Suffolk and finally served as Principal of the East India Company College from 1805 to 1815. His notebooks are of interest because they cover the entire theological course, and were copied out by someone who taught moral philosophy himself and conformed to the established church. The *ODNB* article on Henley does not mention his education as a dissenter. A narrative of his activities can be found in Courtney S. Kenny, 'A Forgotten Cambridge Meeting-House', *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, 4 (1910), 223-9. See also 'Henley, Samuel (CCEd Person ID: 113485)', *The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540–1835* and G. P. Moriarty, 'Henley, Samuel (1740-1815)', rev. John D. Haigh, *ODNB*.

[62] Doddridge's *A Course of Lectures* (1763) was published posthumously. It was edited by his former student and assistant Samuel Clark, who emphasised that the text derived from a shorthand copy of Doddridge's own lectures ('Advertisement' to *A Course of Lectures* (1763), sig. A2). Therefore the printed text, though it post dates some of the manuscript lecture notes referred to here, is taken to be the version of the lectures closest to those Doddridge delivered in the absence of a longhand copy or a copy in Doddridge's own hand. Two sets of student notes from Northampton survive, made by Job Orton between 1735 and 1739 (HMCO Orton MS 1) and Thomas Watson between 1746 and 1747 (CHCN Watson MSS). There are some differences between the running heads and references in Orton's notes and those of the printed edition of the lectures. In Watson's notes, even the running heads are in shorthand, making it only possible to compare the references. See Chapter two, sections five and six for a discussion of printed editions of *A Course of Lectures*.

lectures from *A Course of Lectures* are omitted from Henley's notes, including an 'Appendix concerning Dr. Berkeley's Scheme, That there is no material World' which comes between Parts II and III of *A Course of Lectures*. In Henley's notes, there are four blank leaves between the end of the second and start of the third parts of Pneumatology, which may have been intended for the 'Appendix'.[63]

The order and content of Henley's set of notebooks suggests that Ashworth retained Doddridge's mathematical method and interconnected scheme of lectures, but rearranged materials. For example, a sequence of lectures covering accounts of and debates about the nature of moral virtue are arranged differently in Henley's course to the printed *A Course of Lectures*.[64] At the start of the first volume labelled 'Theology' (which corresponds to part VII of Doddridge's printed lectures) is 'A Lecture on passing from y^{e} Evidences to y^{e} Doctrines of Christianity' which does not appear in the printed lectures.[65] It serves to connect two distinct phases of the course. In Henley's series of notebooks, two volumes on the evidences of Christianity comprise fifty-three lectures and are followed by three volumes which begin respectively 'Divinity Part I' (which begins at lecture fifty-four), 'Divinity Part Vth' and 'Divinity Part VI'. The interconnection between the topics that Doddridge spoke of is evident here, in the numbering of the sequence of lectures which is continuous across two sections of the course. Pneumatology, however, is not imagined as being part of this sequence in quite the same way as it was for Jennings and Doddridge, who specifically commented on their 'interwoven' character.[66] The first two of Henley's volumes contain the pneumatology lectures, which is divided into three parts, the first two of which (occupying all of the first and most of the second volumes) are continuously foliated. There is no lecture linking this phase of the

[63] DWL MS 28.36, between lectures 50 and 51, after fol. 182. Doddridge, *A Course of Lectures* (1763), 101-3.
[64] DWL MS 28.36, fols. 1-42 (within 'Pneumatology part III'). Lectures 52 and 53 (fols. 1-8) are the same structure and have the same references in Henley's notes as in the printed *Course of Lectures*. In Henley's notebooks, Doddridge's lectures on moral virtue (lectures 60-63) precede those on the being and attributes of God (DWL MS 28.36, fols. 1-22). Propositions 52-81 of Doddridge's course (the second part of part III of *A Course of Lectures*) are often grouped separately in student notes from Daventry academy.
[65] DWL MS 28.41. The lecture, which is separately foliated, appears at the beginning of the volume. It is fourteen and a half pages long and is transcribed on both the recto and verso of each page. It does not appear in Blackmore's notes.
[66] Doddridge, 'An Account of Mr Jennings's Method', fol. 11.

course to the next, as there is between the section on evidences for Christianity and the lectures on divinity, and a group of five lectures on civil government are separated from those on the being and attributes of God.[67] The numbering systems for the different groups of lectures in these notes suggests that Ashworth configured the study of the Old and New Testament as quite separate to investigations into the moral and psychological aspects of religion, indicating that while he followed Doddridge's view that the components of theological study are interconnected, he perceived the nature of those connections differently.

In a significant example of Ashworth's rearrangement of Doddridge's course, materials which are all part of the pneumatology section of Doddridge's course appear in different locations in Henley's notebooks. Henley's 'Pneumatology part III' ends part-way through Doddridge's part III. Most of Doddridge's lectures on civil government as founded in Scripture, and the whole of part IV of *A Course of Lectures* ('Of the Immortality and Immateriality of the Soul') are relocated to the second of the three volumes containing the divinity section of Henley's notes. The numbering and arrangement of lectures shows that these lectures are not misplaced by Henley, and their presence in the divinity section of the course is not an accident: several other sets of lecture notes follow the same pattern.[68] The sequence of lectures in Henley's notebooks shows that Ashworth thought the complex philosophical and theological matter of the immortality and immateriality of the soul was best approached after a thorough study of the Old and New Testaments, which investigated their historicity, composition and content.

In Doddridge's printed *Course of Lectures*, the second section of part III investigates the biblical grounds for rules concerning civil government (including parents' responsibilities to their children, and the grounds on which war is

[67] The pneumatology lectures are separated from the rest of the theological course by the two volumes of lectures on Jewish antiquities, though it is not necessarily the case that the Jewish antiquities lectures interrupted the course. Henley may have attended pneumatology and Jewish antiquities concurrently.

[68] Comparable sets of notes include DWL MSS NCL L.29/6-10 and DWL MSS NCL L.29/12-16. In each of these sets of notes, the lectures are numbered continuously across the five volumes, ending at lecture 167 (proposition 100), as do Henley's, and all end with the words 'Finis totius operis'. The lectures are divided into seven parts, which correspond (though not directly) to parts IV-X of Doddridge's *Course of Lectures*, ending at the same point, and with the same references, as Doddridge's course. The single set of notes from Daventry in longhand also rearrange part III in this way.

justified) and discussions of various moral issues such as polygamy and suicide. In sets of notes from Daventry, some of this material is covered in the five-lecture section on Civil Government which follows 'pneumatology part III'. Most of the material is relocated to the divinity lectures. Thomas Blackmore, a Daventry student, titled these 'Lectures of Morality'.[69] According to Blackmore's notes, after a lecture defining various types of covenant, Ashworth uses the opening to part IX, proposition 144 of Doddridge's *Course of Lectures*, 'To enquire into the principal heads of *christian duty*, as they are laid down in scripture', followed by Doddridge's 'lemma':

> We do not intend a large enumeration of scriptures on each head, by which it might easily be shewn, that all the most considerable particulars mentioned in our *ethical lectures*, as branches of the *law of nature*, are recommended in the *old and new testament*: we shall here content ourselves with a general survey, only hinting that it might not be an unprofitable employment, to add such texts of scripture in their proper places to this lecture, to which purpose the collection in Dr. *Gastrell* and Dr. *Wright* may be very serviceable.[70]

Ashworth's course proceeds to knit sequences of information and references from part III of Doddridge's *A Course of Lectures* together with elements from part IX. The solution and demonstration after this lemma is followed by a sequence of references which correspond to *A Course of Lectures*, proposition 50 'To inquire into the principal branches of divine virtue' (Lecture 64), its demonstration and subsequent series of solutions.[71] Blackmore's notes add two further points about the duties of the Christian with regard to Jesus (that we

[69] CHCN Blackmore MS 8. In DWL MS 28.42 (Henley's notebook) and DWL MS NCL L.29/15, this material appears in 'Divinity part V', subheaded 'A Survey of the Moral Precepts of the Gospel'. Blackmore's notes are used for this section of the study because they are in longhand. Where the running heads are in longhand, they can be compared, and the order of materials is the same, as are the references. See, for example, DWL MS 28.42 fols. 11-24 and DWL MS NCL L.29/15 fols. 10-20. These similarities suggest that the sequence of notebooks DWL MSS NCL L.29/12-16 were made at Daventry academy, or by someone copying out Ashworth's course very exactly.

[70] Doddridge, *A Course of Lectures* (1763), 472 (lecture 139). The wording of CHCN Blackmore MS 8, fol. 11 is virtually identical. A 'lemma' is 'a proposition assumed or demonstrated which is subsidiary to some other'; it could be used to refer to a preparatory proposition. (*OED*)

[71] The printed text includes some references not given in the manuscripts of Ashworth's course, though in only one instance do the notebooks from Daventry contain an additional reference which is not in *A Course of Lectures*. The reference is to Barker's sermons: see CHCN Blackmore MS 8, fol. 14.

regard him as an instructor and intercessor) and to the Holy Spirit.[72] These do not appear with the foregoing material in Doddridge's *Course of Lectures*, but belong to proposition 146 in part IX, shortly after the lemma quoted above. In relocating these two points, Ashworth separates the Christian's duties towards God from his account of Christians' duties towards each other, which are dealt with in the rest of the solution from which these two points are taken.[73] In Blackmore's notes, the lectures then proceed to give a definition of an oath and then investigate the crime of perjury, which corresponds to definition 48 and proposition 56 of *A Course of Lectures*.[74] As well as this rearrangement of material, the manuscript notes of Ashworth's lectures include numerous references to Scripture throughout this sequence which are not present in the printed *Course of Lectures*, indicating that in the process of reconfiguring Doddridge's course Ashworth followed his tutor's suggestion to add 'texts of scripture in their proper places' to these lectures. He took elements from each of parts III and IX of Doddridge's course and wove them together to make the connections between civil law, Scripture, and factors governing individual behaviour clearer.

Henley's volume containing the middle section of the divinity course ends with an 'Appendix to y^{e} Lectures on y^{e} Moral Precepts of Christianity' which has references to Doddridge's *Ten Sermons*, Hodges' *Elihu* and Dove's *A Creed Founded on Truth and Common Sense*.[75] No such appendix appears in Doddridge's *A Course of Lectures*, though the first two of these works are in the Index. The work by John Dove, which was published in 1750, is not. This example is representative of the course as a whole: Ashworth added supplementary materials and references to additional texts to his version of Doddridge's course, but did so relatively infrequently. In the case of lectures on the pre-existence and divinity of Christ, for example, notes from Daventry academy contain the same references as found in Doddridge's *Course of Lectures*. On this topic of constant debate, in which new works were being

[72] CHCN Blackmore MS 8, fol. 16.
[73] Doddridge, *A Course of Lectures* (1763), 472-3.
[74] In Blackmore's and Henley's notebooks, the intervening material from *A Course of Lectures* has already been covered in 'pneumatology part III'.
[75] DWL MS 28.42, fols. 133-5. DWL MS NCL L.29/15, fols. 117-8. This 'Appendix' does not appear in the printed *A Course of Lectures*, or Blackmore's notes (which do not contain the complete divinity course).

published, Ashworth did not alter or expand Doddridge's materials. In general, Ashworth followed Doddridge closely but not absolutely. He carefully restructured the central section of the course using Doddridge's mathematical form to relocate individual lectures and entire sections while retaining the priorities and materials of Doddridge's course.

Shorthand lecture notes owned by Thomas Belsham which date from a later period of Daventry academy suggest even freer use of Doddridge's lectures.[76] The first page of one volume is headed: 'Lect. LXIV M^{r} Hill. Def. 43. Dodd. Def 52. p. 157. Def. 44. Dodd. Def. 59. p. 190', indicating that the student was attending lectures on civil government delivered by Noah Hill, Ashworth's assistant who lectured on a range of subjects including theology and moral philosophy.[77] The heading shows that Hill followed the method of identifying the proposition or definition number under discussion in each lecture, but that he referred to Doddridge's course without following it in strict sequence. For example, definitions 43 and 44 of Hill's version of the course direct students to definitions 52 and 59 of the printed edition of Doddridge's *Course of Lectures* and their accompanying scholia. Definition 52 of Doddridge's course is 'A law is a rule of action, prescribed by some superior, in such a manner as at the same time to declare a purpose of favouring or punishing those under his power as they shall act agreeably or disagreeably to it'; this is followed by references to Puffendorf, Grotius and Baxter and appears in lecture 77.[78] The manuscript indicates that Hill took some of Doddridge's definitions but relocated them. He also added further references.[79] It is striking that Hill referred students to the printed *Course of Lectures*, for it indicates that different versions of Doddridge's lectures were available to students at Daventry academy. This volume of lectures also indicates that an important feature of Doddridge's course – the interconnected sequence of lectures – was not sustained, for the notes in the

[76] Thomas Belsham attended Daventry academy between 1766 and 1770. He was assistant tutor from 1770 to 1778 and then minister of the Angel Street congregation in Worcester. He returned to Daventry as theological tutor in 1781. He resigned in 1789 because his theological opinions had become more heterodox. He then became tutor at New College Hackney, which had no doctrinal requirements and where the promoters largely shared his new opinions. See Webb, 'Belsham'.
[77] HMCO Belsham MS 8, fol. 1. The volume ends 'The End Wednesday May 25th: 1768'.
[78] Doddridge, *A Course of Lectures* (1763), 157.
[79] In *A Course of Lectures* (1793), Andrew Kippis preserves the structure of Doddridge's course, but adds a great number of additional references. See Chapter two, section six below.

volume jump from topic to topic. The writer interrupts a series of lectures on divine agency to transcribe a seventeen-page list of 'Testimonies of Writers in the 3 first Centuries particular to Books of the New Testament'. The page following the list is headed 'Divine Agency continued'.[80] The list appears part-way through a gathering of leaves, so it is not the case that the student made the groups of notes separately and bound them in this way later. At least one student failed to follow the methodical approach to pneumatology, ethics and divinity encouraged by the arrangement of Doddridge's course.

The evidence of the materials from Daventry academy indicates that over time, adherence to Doddridge's content and methods diminished. The survival of finely written longhand volumes with elegant hand drawn title pages and uniformly bound sequences of notebooks written in shorthand, suggests that students valued the materials they were introduced to, and attempted to preserve them. However, the existence of rough looking notes on individual lectures jotted on individual gatherings of paper suggests that this was not always the case. The disparity of appearance of surviving lecture notes makes it impossible to make any strong claims about student responses to the course. Ashworth retained almost all of Doddridge's materials, and reformulated the course within the categories and structure for theological study created by Jennings and developed by Doddridge, and it was probably due to this way of presenting the course that its association with Doddridge remained strong. He and his successors used the printed text of Doddridge's *Course of Lectures* within their own lectures based on that course, and the mingling of manuscript and printed sources for Doddridge's method and references suggests that, while the course at Daventry developed its own character, it remained rooted in the ideas of its originator.

The notes owned by Belsham described above do not strictly follow Doddridge's course, but they are structured according to the mathematical method. Even this was modified in later years. Belsham was divinity tutor at Daventry from 1782 to 1789, and therefore probably delivered the series of lectures which are not dated but belonged to Nicholas Thomas Heineken, who was a student between 1780 and 1785. Notebooks owned by Heineken containing notes on the same course also claim to draw on Doddridge's lectures

[80] HMCO Belsham MS 8, not foliated.

but their arrangement is rather different. There are occasional 'scholia', but no definitions or propositions. Doddridge's emphasis on presenting arguments from different sides is retained, but in the form of sequences of 'arguments' which are followed by numbered 'objections', which in turn receive 'answers'.[81] There are far fewer references to other works than in Doddridge's lectures, though several of these do demonstrate that the lecturer has followed Doddridge's own practice of incorporating recent work on a topic into the references. For example, a lecture on 'the materiality of the Soul' lists four references: 'Baxter on the Soul V. I', Priestley's *Disquisitions* and 'Correspondence between Price & Priestley'.[82] As in Hill's lectures, Doddridge's printed *A Course of Lectures* is used as a source, in this case referring to 'Doddridge's Lect^{s}. p. 204. 211' which is a section exploring the immateriality and immortality of the soul beginning at the definition 'The mind may be said to be corporeal, if thought arise from and be inseparably connected with a certain system of matter'.[83] Though their own course was not in the same form as Doddridge's, clearly students at Daventry academy in the 1780s would have been familiar with the structure and content of his. The section of Doddridge's *Course of Lectures* given as a reference here includes several references to the same work by Andrew Baxter as that given in the manuscript, as well as to Locke, Samuel Clarke and Isaac Watts's *Philosophical Essays*.[84] Listing Baxter's work separately may have been a sign that it was particularly recommended. The printed version of Doddridge's course of lectures provided a source of materials which later tutors reinforced, supplemented and modified. In this case, the broad range of views on the immortality and immateriality of the soul presented by Doddridge is recommended to students, as are contemporary debates within dissent on the subjects of materialism and philosophical necessity as represented by Priestley and Price.

Doddridge's teaching was also familiar to tutors promoting a less heterodox and more evangelical version of ministerial education. John Conder, tutor at Mile End academy and later at Homerton, possessed a copy of the section

[81] HMCO MS Heineken 6, fols. 1-6.
[82] HMCO MS Heineken 6, fol. 49v.
[83] Doddridge, *A Course of Lectures* (1763), 204.
[84] Doddridge, *A Course of Lectures* (1763), 205-6.

of Doddridge's course on the evidences for Christianity.[85] The volume, which is labelled 'D[r] John Conder's copy of Doddridge's Lectures' is written in longhand, and the propositions and definitions have been matched to those of Doddridge's *Course of Lectures*.[86] Conder may have used Doddridge's lectures as a source for his own, and elements of Doddridge's course certainly influenced the teaching at Homerton academy in the 1770s. Conder's theology course followed a mathematical method of definitions, propositions and scholia, though the content is different to Doddridge's *Course of Lectures*. However, Conder did not explicitly associate his method with Doddridge's.[87] Doddridge's inclusion of metaphysics and moral philosophy in theology is not followed as there is no interweaving of different aspects of ministerial learning, though the elements of liberal education and how ministerial training is related to these are the subject of an introductory lecture. Though the mathematical method is followed, the way Doddridge used it to encourage free enquiry is decidedly not: orthodoxy (particularly relating to the Trinity) is emphatically reinforced throughout, and those with other ideas are referred to as 'our adversaries'.[88]

In Doddridge's view, the mathematical method that he inherited from Jennings was one of most remarkable features of Jennings's course. But Isaac Watts questioned its use, saying 'I fear tis not y[e] best form for such Studies', and even after the publication of *A Course of Lectures*, the method was not widely adopted. While Conder did use the mathematical method, he eliminated its capacity to allow free enquiry. The fact that at Daventry academy, elements from Doddridge's own lectures were repositioned within a differently-structured course indicates that other educators were not as convinced of its benefits as Doddridge.[89]

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[85] Conder was committed to promoting orthodox doctrines and scholarly evangelicalism in the dissenting ministry. He insisted that ministerial students' academic and vocational commitment should be thoroughly tested before they could become ministers. Homerton academy in the 1780s was a very different academic environment to Daventry, which had always encouraged liberal thought. See J. H. Y. Briggs, 'Conder, John (1714–1781)', *ODNB*.

[86] DWL MS NCL L.29/11.

[87] DWL MSS NCL L.28/1-2. Volume one begins with an introductory lecture which outlines liberal education at Oxford, Cambridge and Scottish universities (fols. 1-9). The theology course of thirty-nine lectures covers dogmatic theology and scripture doctrines in detail. Volume one also includes lectures on preaching and pastoral care. Volume two contains lectures on Jewish antiquities, secular and ecclesiastical history, chronology, scriptural chronology, and notes on English preachers derived from Doddridge's 'Lectures on Preaching'.

[88] DWL MS NCL L.28/1, fols. 16-19.

[89] Watts, 'Reply to Doddridge's "Account" ', fol. 2v.

There was also active opposition to the mathematical method in public. In a review of *A Course of Lectures*, William Kenrick declared that 'the judgement of a preceptor should be already formed concerning every subject he undertakes to teach' and warned that a course that presents different points of view might confuse the tutor himself.[90] He also questioned Doddridge's definitions of mathematical terms: 'When a Writer stumbles at the threshold, and blunders in such essential points as Definitions and Axioms, however he may recover himself afterwards, it will be a shrewd sign, at least, that he is not so familiarly acquainted with his subject as it is reasonable to think a Professor ought to be', and he condemned the whole as 'an extraordinary method of philosophizing'.[91] Twenty years earlier, in *An Introduction to Moral Philosophy*, Edward Bentham (later to become Regius professor of Divinity at Oxford) was, Rivers suggests, responding to reports of Doddridge's method when he specifically attacked 'the new, and seemingly more scientifical, method attended with all Mathematical formalities of *Definitions, Postulatums, Axioms, Lemmas, Theorems,* and *Corollaries*'.[92] Bentham insisted that these were confusing to the student and 'forced and affected'. Both critics emphasised the unhelpful novelty of the system, and suggested that the mathematical method could not be accurately applied to other spheres of learning. It may be that other tutors also doubted the efficacy of the method or, like Isaac Watts, they may have found it 'more tedious, and less naturall' than other ways of presenting the material.[93] While the method Doddridge inherited from Jennings was not universally, wholeheartedly, or consistently followed by later tutors, they all appear to have valued his emphasis on wide reading and the collections of references he created for students to consult.

ii) Lectures on preaching

[90] *Monthly Review*, 29 (1763), 13-17 (14). Kenrick is identified in Benjamin Christie Nangle, *The Monthly Review: Indexes of Contributors and Articles*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1934-55), I, 91. Kenrick was from a Baptist family, and became a translator and reviewer notorious for the cruelty of his reviews and the literary feuds he incited. See C. S. Rogers and Betty Rizzo, 'Kenrick, William (1729/30–1779)', *ODNB*.
[91] *Monthly Review*, 29 (1763), 16.
[92] Edward Bentham, *An Introduction to Moral Philosophy* (Oxford, 1745), sig. [a3] - [a3v]; Rivers, *The Defence of Truth Through the Knowledge of Error*, 30-1.
[93] Watts, 'Reply to Doddridge's "Account" ', fol. 2v.

The ways in which Doddridge's pneumatology, ethics and divinity lectures were preserved and reused indicates that later tutors saw the value of his system as a resource and the opportunity afforded by its structure to add elements or rearrange them. This loose adoption of certain features of a given course was not the only possible means of using his teaching materials after his death, however, as the survival and circulation of Doddridge's 'Lectures on Preaching' shows.

Students attended these lectures at the very end of their course, in order to prepare them for their lives as ministers, which were fast approaching. The lectures give summaries of the greatest nonconformist and established church preachers and orators of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, before moving on to practical advice for composing sermons and then offering detailed comments about the appropriate comportment for a minister while executing his pastoral responsibilities.[94] The young minister is, for example, recommended particular catechisms to teach to children (including Isaac Watts's), and told how a baptism ceremony should be conducted, including how a minister should behave at the post-ceremony party: 'Allow yourself intervals of moderate cheerfulness, but rather err on the grave extreme; and always retire as early as you conveniently and decently can'.[95] Advice is given on the most practical and sensitive way of visiting sick congregation members, and how to behave towards other ministers. The lectures also contain sketches of the style, content and strengths of various commentators on the Bible including Erasmus, Calvin, Saurin, Locke, Witsius, Whiston, Lardner and many others. The range of their content reinforces to students that ministerial behaviour and practice should be seemly, open, and based on deep knowledge of Scripture and scholarly sources.

Doddridge's lectures were probably based on Jennings's, for in 'An Account of Mr Jennings's Method', Doddridge says 'The Lectures on the art of Preaching are admirable, but might be improv'd by new References, and by adding a Chapter concerning the Character of our most celebrated practical Writers.'[96] Doddridge's own 'Lectures on Preaching' did precisely this, as manuscript copies of his lectures on preaching in Dr Williams's Library, Harris

[94] For the range of published guides to pulpit oratory in the period, see Françoise Deconinck-Brossard, 'The Art of Preaching', in *Preaching, Sermon and Cultural Change in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. Joris van Eijnatten (Leiden, 2009) 95-130.
[95] Doddridge, *Works*, V, 484.
[96] Doddridge, 'An Account of Mr Jennings's Method', fol. 27.

Manchester College Oxford, the University of Wales and the Bristol Baptist College archive show.[97] The one surviving copy of lecture notes that can be positively identified as coming from Doddridge's own academy contains twenty-two lectures which are in shorthand.[98] They appear to cover the same material and follow the same structure as later copies. There is remarkable consistency in content and layout of the manuscript copies, indicating that these lectures were not adapted as freely as Doddridge's theology course.[99]

The majority of surviving lecture notes come from Daventry academy. One shorthand copy was owned by Thomas Belsham, and the notes were completed in July 1768, when he was a student at the academy. A second set belonging to Heineken may well be of lectures delivered by Belsham. Names of the preachers recommended, and even the order in which they were listed, are identical in each copy, and there are virtually no differences to the order of lectures or the topics covered between these two shorthand copies or either of the other copies made by Daventry students.[100] Doddridge's lectures provided the formal guidelines for ministerial practice for three generations of dissenting ministers.

The 'Lectures on Preaching' were also considered to be important by educators of other denominations. In 1779, the Bristol Education Society, which administered the Bristol Baptist College, paid one guinea for a professional

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[97] The manuscripts are: DWL MSS 24.179.11, 28.44, 69.21, NCL MSS L.28/3, L.29/22, L.29/23, L.29/24, HMCO MSS Heineken 10 and Belsham 7, The Roderic Bowen Library and Archives, University of Wales, Trinity Saint David MS UA/TP/8, and BBC MS G 93. No full survey of all these manuscripts has been made before. A striking feature of the lectures is their extended life in manuscript prior to their first appearances in print in the early nineteenth century, which is described in Chapter two, sections six and eight below.

[98] DWL MS NCL L.29/22. This manuscript has the title page 'Lectures on the Composition & Delivery of Sermons Prayer y^{e} Administration of y^{e} Sacraments & other Branches of the Ministerial & Pastoral office By P Doddridge DD Northampton 1744'.

[99] DWL MS NCL L.29/20, which is in shorthand, is not attributed to Doddridge, but the lecture titles (where given in longhand) correspond to those in Doddridge's lectures. It also includes an appendix of 'John Jennings's lectures on Oratory' in shorthand which appear to correspond to the section on 'Oratory' in *Miscellanea*, indicating that the correspondence between aspects of Jennings's course and Doddridge's was noted in later academies. Unfortunately, neither the academy where this copy was made, nor the date of its transcription are known for certain, though they form part of the Conder collection and may therefore come from Homerton academy.

[100] Samuel Henley's set contains shorthand notes on 22 lectures (DWL MS 28.44), and the volume ends 'Finis. Sept. 17th. 1761'. DWL MS 24.179.11 is a longhand copy made by Samuel Palmer. It is not dated, but as he joined Daventry academy in 1759 and took up his first ministerial post in 1762 it is likely that he made this transcription in 1761 or early 1762. The copy, containing nineteen lectures, is not complete. Blackmore's notes do not include the preaching lectures.

transcription of Doddridge's preaching lectures.[101] This copy is the best preserved manuscript of the 'Lectures on Preaching', being sturdily bound in leather. It is dated 1778 and is transcribed in longhand, with the verso pages left blank. The volume, which also contains David Jennings's lectures entitled 'The Christian Preacher' and extracts and summaries of lectures on preaching delivered by John Lavington, is paginated continuously throughout.[102] The copy contains additional notes on the blank versos or (if they are short comments) in the margins, indicating that users added to the materials, and there are cross-references within the volume; against Jennings's advice to use the voice to register emotion, it is noted that Doddridge 'cautions against overdoing in this matter see p. 107'.[103] There is also a longhand copy now held at the University of Wales which very closely resembles the Bristol copy (though it is in a different hand), to the extent that in each manuscript the same words or phrases are often underlined for emphasis. The number and arrangement of lectures is identical in the two copies, and both include navigation aids in the form of lists of contents and indexes of authors. The University of Wales copy does not include those authors about whom Doddridge expressed reservations within the lectures (such as Whiston as a biblical commentator) and others much admired by Doddridge but who were the subject of some controversy (such as Robert Leighton).[104]

Another longhand copy of the lectures survives in the New College Collection.[105] It is similar to the Bristol and University of Wales copies in nearly all particulars, being very neatly written, and containing twenty-four lectures. It also has an index of topics and authors and it notes, by way of a system of symbols, the denominational affiliation of the names listed and whether they are preachers or commentators. The close correspondence between these three

[101] I am grateful to Kyle Roberts for this information.
[102] John Lavington (c.1715-1761) was a Presbyterian minister and tutor educated at Moorfields academy by John Eames, before settling in the West Country. His academy appears to have been established in Ottery St Mary, Devon in 1751. See David L. Wykes, 'Lavington, John (*c.*1690-1759)', *ODNB* (the Lavington described here appears within the entry for his father). The section covering his lectures in BBC MS G 93 is nineteen pages long. The material is presented as supplementary to the rest of the volume, for the transcriber alerts the reader to points of overlap between Lavington and Doddridge.
[103] BBC MS G 93, p. 352.
[104] Doddridge edited *The Expository Works and Other Remains of Archbishop Leighton*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1748). Unfortunately, there is no record of this manuscript before 1846, so it is impossible to say how or where these lectures were used. I am grateful to Caroline Pilcher of The Roderic Bowen Library and Archives, University of Wales, Trinity Saint David for her attempts to find out more.
[105] DWL MS NCL L.29/24. 'J. Stoddon 1779' is written on the flyleaf.

copies suggests that there was interest in producing neat, longhand copies of Doddridge's lectures in the last part of the eighteenth century for readers who might not necessarily be familiar with all the authors to whom Doddridge referred, or even to Doddridge himself. The influence of his 'Lectures on Preaching' had extended beyond his students and contemporaries, and scribally produced longhand copies rather than student made shorthand ones were required for academy libraries.[106]

Tutors could also incorporate elements of Doddridge's lectures into their own lectures on preaching. John Conder, tutor at Homerton academy, added Doddridge's remarks on practical writers to the end of his own course. The list of authors, arranged chronologically into puritans, nonconformists and dissenters 'of the present age', and followed by a section covering writers of the established church, is identical in names and order to the copies from Daventry and Bristol. The most significant addition to Doddridge's list of practical writers appears in two copies where there is a sketch of the character and preaching of Doddridge himself.[107] In the Bristol copy, this is attributed to Job Orton and is introduced with the confident assertion that 'To the Authors mention'd in the preceding Lectures may very properly be added D^{r} Doddridge.' Doddridge is characterised as embodying 'justness and sprightliness of Thought, clearness of Method, Propriety and Beauty of Stile . . . equal if not superior to any of the foregoing' and a summary of his devotional works and sermons is given.[108] The inclusion of Doddridge indicates a decision to make the compendium as comprehensive as possible, and to record the talents of the composer of the lectures.

Very occasionally, other preachers are added to the lectures. The Belsham copy adds Harris to Doddridge's list of dissenting writers of the present age and Lucas to those of the established church.[109] These were probably Ashworth's additions to Doddridge's list which were not adopted by later lecturers. Conder's copy also includes an additional remark from Daventry: amidst comments on the puritan Robert Bolton he notes 'Gilpin on y^{e} Christians Temptation & D^{r} Owen on y^{e} 130 Psalms are somewhat of y^{e} same cast & in D^{r}

[106] The Bristol copy was held in the college library: see *An Alphabetical Catalogue of all the Books in the Library, belonging to the Bristol Education Society* (Bristol, 1795), 12.
[107] DWL MS NCL L.29/24, fols. 314-6 and BBC MS G 93, pp. 261-3.
[108] BBC MS G 93, p. 261.
[109] HMCO Belsham MS 7, fols. 11, 13.

Ashworths Opinions y^{e} best Books you can read for Comfort under a troubled Mind.'[110] While additions of this type are infrequent, they show that materials originally used by Doddridge could reach one academy via another, and that they passed from tutor to tutor. Later tutors followed the practice championed by Doddridge of sharing and adapting materials.

The fact that Doddridge and other recent writers are not routinely added to these lectures indicates that, unlike other bodies of material, they were not considered by successive tutors to be open to additions and modifications. Indeed, John Conder's decision to keep Doddridge's remarks on practical writers together, rather than incorporate them into his own lectures, suggests that this block of remarks was considered a unit, and that the fact that they could unequivocally be said to register Doddridge's views only was considered important. Perhaps later tutors used Doddridge's remarks on writers as indicative of the views of an earlier age. It might also have been of benefit to tutors to present criticisms of preachers (of which there are quite a few in the descriptions) as coming from Doddridge rather than themselves. Conder introduced the remarks by stressing Doddridge's high reputation:

> I have usually annexed y^{e} learned & ingenious D^{r}. Doddridges Characters of our most celebrat^{d} English Writers you have y^{e} D^{rs}: Sentiments of them & as you read y^{e} Authors you are to judge for yourself.[111]

Conder leaves open the question of whether Doddridge's assessments are accurate. His framing invites the students to do just what all Doddridge's own lectures encouraged – to judge for themselves.

The general point is that lectures based on Doddridge's were in use in academies in different places up to fifty years after his death. Even the 'Lectures on Preaching', which retained the most consistent form and content, were subject to change. While lectures associated with Doddridge's course are the most numerous, this pattern is not unique to him: Samuel Jones's lectures on Jewish antiquities circulated, David Jennings's lectures on preaching were also held at Bristol, and John Eames's mathematics lectures were used in several academies.

[110] DWL MS NCL L.28/3, fol. 142.
[111] DWL MS NCL L. 28/3, fol. 142. DWL MS NCL L.28/5 is another manuscript of the same lectures in shorthand which presents the material from Doddridge in the same way. It is dated 25 February 1780.

A feature of dissenting education was that materials of one tutor were borrowed and adapted by others. This process of adaptation is an important characteristic of Doddridge's pedagogy in particular though, for Doddridge himself had been suggesting how to improve and update teaching materials since before he became a tutor. Doddridge applied the epistemological position of his own tutor – that the opinions of others should not be passively accepted – to his own activities as a tutor, and his example apparently encouraged others to do the same.

The widespread and long lasting use of Doddridge's educational materials at dissenting academies attests to the importance his educational system. However, the existence of many notes in shorthand only, and without dates, makes it difficult to determine the exact nature of the transmission of Doddridge's course to different academies. The extent to which his lectures were the basis for day-to-day teaching is not always clear. The place of a very neat copy of his 'Lectures on Preaching' in the library at Bristol suggests the work was considered to be a reference resource, for example. Nevertheless, the association of Doddridge's name with the materials described here seems to suggest that his legacy was respected by dissenting educators. The final section of this chapter will investigate Doddridge's own interactions with the world of education beyond the classrooms of English dissenting academies.

5. The dissemination of Doddridge's views on education

Doddridge's 'Account of Mr Jennings's Method' adopted a carefully styled discursive mode for accounts of dissenting education. It circulated among dissenting ministers who were not familiar with Jennings's course or acquainted with Doddridge, but who were sympathetic to the scheme of founding a new academy. The form and purpose of this material – passed around a relatively small group of dissenters who may not have known one another personally, but had shared acquaintances – can be contrasted to debates in print about the nature and purpose of dissenting education published at around the same time.

In *An Enquiry Concerning the Causes of the Decay of the Dissenting Interest*, Strickland Gough, a young dissenter who later conformed to the Church of England, made various suggestions for enhancing the status of dissent. He wished to have congregations run by more refined ministers with the intention of

encouraging a better class of citizen to attend dissenting meeting houses. To Gough, it was very important that dissenting ministers cut an elegant figure in the world. One way of effecting this, he suggested, was for dissenting academies to provide a more polite education. Gough's ideas for incorporating *belles lettres*, public speaking and even dancing into the curriculum of a dissenting academy might appear to mirror some of Doddridge's priorities in 'An Account of Mr Jennings's Method', in which he explained at length the structure of Wednesday afternoon drama and music performances and emphasised the importance of oratorical training.[112] However, in his response to Gough's pamphlet (which was his first printed publication) Doddridge stressed the importance of applying Christ's example of humility to the work of a minister, rather than prizing worldly attainments.

The title of his pamphlet – *Free Thoughts on the Most Probable Means of Reviving the Dissenting Interest* – emphasises its aim to be undogmatic and claims a certain degree of informality and spontaneity for the responses to Gough it contains. Doddridge explains that he chose this title rather than '*a farther Enquiry into the causes of the decay of the Dissenting Interest*' because 'it seem'd most respectful to you' and so that 'I may not appear to advance any direct charge against any of my brethren in the process of this discourse.'[113] Maintaining harmony while attempting to express differences of opinion is thus foregrounded as an important dimension of conduct among dissenters. The phrase also articulates the central tenet of a dissenting education according to the Jennings/Doddridge schema – liberal thinking – and thereby expresses some identification with Gough's pamphlet, which began by remarking that liberality of thought had characterised puritanism and should be retained by dissenters:

> The fundamental principle of the dissenters is, as I apprehend, a *liberty* for every man to form his own sentiments, and to pursue them by all lawful and regular methods; to disclaim the *impositions* of men, and to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience.[114]

[112] It is unlikely that Gough was familiar with Doddridge's 'Account of Mr Jennings's Method'.
[113] Philip Doddridge, *Free Thoughts on the Most Probable Means of Reviving the Dissenting Interest* (London, 1730), 5.
[114] Strickland Gough, *An Enquiry Concerning the Causes of the Decay of the Dissenting Interest* (London, 1730), 6.

Gough celebrates this principle, but regrets the recent tendency of dissent to fall into factionalism. The reason he sees for the decline of dissent is that internal disputes have damaged its reputation in the world, and the poor manners and strange preaching style of its ministers have discouraged refined citizens from attending dissenting meetings. Since 'the credit of the interest can only arise from the learning and piety of those engag'd in it', dissenting education ought to be improved.[115] Gough suggests dissenters should 'encourage our younger Ministers who study good sense and politeness, and endeavour to recommend the interest to the esteem of the rest of mankind' in order that the dissenting interest 'would still revive and flourish more than ever'.[116] His interest in dissenting education is pragmatic: he wishes to persuade a better sort of person (in his terms) to embrace dissent.

While Gough and Doddridge agreed that promoting a polite and learned ministry ought to be a priority, their reasons for doing so were very different. Though it is clear from his 'Account' that Doddridge prized thorough and wide-ranging learning, in print he warned against the 'mistaken haughty way of thinking' certain modes of polite education could engender. In *Free Thoughts*, he defines learned accomplishment differently to Gough:

> I cannot imagine that a man of tolerable sense, who is every day conversing with some of the finest writers of antiquity, and who is (as most of our students are) a little exercised in the mathematical sciences, (to teach him attention of thought, and strength, and perspicuity of reasoning) will be in great danger of saying any thing remarkably impertinent, or contemptibly low.[117]

Doddridge implicitly counters Gough's claim that dissenting education is lacking depth or elegance. He summarises the nature and purpose of the two main strands of dissenting education, as conceived by John Jennings, as being firstly the development of intellectual rigour and secondly encouraging practical piety grounded in the daily tasks of ministering to a congregation. Doddridge used his pamphlet to promote the idea that trainee ministers ought to concentrate on developing their warmth, honesty and piety. Learning was important from a

[115] Gough, *An Enquiry*, 35.
[116] Gough, *An Enquiry*, 35.
[117] Doddridge, *Free Thoughts*, 37.

personal point of view, but one's pastoral care of 'an honest mechanick, or day-labourer, who attends the Meeting from a religious principle' should be a minister's priority, and ministerial education should emphasise these duties.[118]

Doddridge's next published work to address the topic of dissenting education can be viewed as a contribution to this endeavour. In 1742, an octavo volume was published entitled *Sermons on Several Subjects* by Thomas Steffe, a young dissenting minister who had died in 1740 at the age of 24. As well as containing ten of Steffe's sermons, there was a biographical sketch of their author written by Doddridge. The first part of this memorial is an account of the course of learning at the academy Steffe attended, which was Doddridge's own. The summary of the course of education lists the subjects covered: classical languages, logic, rhetoric, and metaphysics, mathematics and natural philosophy, Jewish antiquities, ecclesiastical history and pneumatology, ethics and divinity. The account also emphasises the opportunities students at the academy had for engagement with the people of the community. Steffe joined 'a *Society of private Christians*, who met at stated Times for religious Discourse and Prayer' which 'consisted . . . of Persons in lower Ranks of Life', and Doddridge highlights Steffe's humility and pleasure at being accepted into this society.[119]

As well as demonstrating the local, practical component of the ministerial training Steffe undertook, Doddridge emphasises the learned scope of the academy, and summarises the course in terms taken from his 'Account of Mr Jennings's Method'. Though he does not mention Jennings in the 'Life of Thomas Steffe', those familiar with his 'Account of Mr Jennings's Method' could see the influence of Jennings's academy in Doddridge's public description of his course in the discourse on the intellectual benefits of mathematical studies as providing 'steady Command of Thought, and Attention of Mind' and 'the Tendency they have, to teach us to distinguish our Ideas with Accuracy, and to dispose our Arguments in a clear, concise, and convincing Manner'.[120] Doddridge extends the scope of this description by weaving advice to readers into an account of the practices of the academy. He introduces readers of the 'Life' to new books he considers remarkable. After noting the study of

[118] Doddridge, *Free Thoughts*, 14.
[119] Doddridge, 'Life of Thomas Steffe', xxvii.
[120] Doddridge, 'Life of Thomas Steffe', xv.

ecclesiastical history, he pauses to promote '*Lampe*'s admirable *Epitome* . . . which I mention because I wonder it is not more generally known, though so very far superior to any thing else of the like kind, for the vast Variety of judicious Hints which it contains', and also recommends Buddaeus's *Compendium historiae philosophicae*.[121] Neither of these works was printed in England. By making these comments and introducing these texts, Doddridge is offering his views on the intellectual climate of the times and inviting readers to participate in a learned world of debate about new books throughout Europe within the frame of a biographical sketch that describes a dissenting academy.

The closest Doddridge comes to explaining the reasons for foregrounding the subject's education in this biography is when he says:

> They, who like our Author, in the Years I shall principally describe, are growing up to the Work of the *Ministry*, may, I hope, learn in many Instances, what it is to be desired they may be . . . and if they *go and do likewise*, it may be for the benefit of Multitudes who are yet unborn, that this little sketch has been drawn.[122]

Doddridge does not specify that he means the *dissenting* ministry. Though it is obvious from the context that this is his primary meaning, his choice leaves open the possibility that this model of ministerial education could be of interest to members of the established church.

A striking feature of the 'Life of Thomas Steffe' is its tone. Even at points where he is making a relatively grand claim (such as the desired effect of printing this work), Doddridge's language plays down his aims. In the example above, this is achieved by use of the conditional tense and diminution of the work as a 'little sketch'. This reserve is apparent also in the effacement of the connection between the editor of the volume and Thomas Steffe's tutor. Doddridge's name appears on the title page of the volume as its editor but the fact that he was Steffe's tutor is never stated beyond a single moment in the dedicatory letter when Doddridge writes: 'They who know the relation in which I stood to Mr *Steffe*, will readily believe, that I have a peculiar Share in your Joys

[121] Doddridge, 'Life of Thomas Steffe', xvi. The works he refers to are Johannes Buddaeus, *Compendium historiae philosophicae* (Halle, 1731) and Friedrich Adolphus Lampe, *Synopsis historiæ sacræ ecclesiasticæ ab origine mundi ad præsentia tempora* (Utrecht, 1721).
[122] Doddridge, 'Life of Thomas Steffe', xi.

on this Occasion'.[123] Those who already know something of Steffe would be aware that when the structure and content of the academy course are detailed, it is Doddridge's own academy that is being described, but the narrative itself does not reveal this. 'Northampton' is never named. Doddridge describes the sections of the pneumatology, ethics and divinity course entirely in the passive voice, and gives the source for his remarks as 'from a manuscript' rather than from direct teaching experience.[124] He eliminates his own role as Steffe's tutor while retaining a presence as superintendent of the narrative. There are moments when sustaining this separation strains the narrative. Suggesting that the mode of Steffe's letters reflects the style of his sermons, Doddridge struggles to maintain a consistent narratorial position:

> Though his *Tutor* did not see *this Letter*, he had a very agreeable Proof of much about this time, (I think, the *October*, or *November* following;) when Mr. *Steffe* bore a Part in the Course of *Homilies* . . . delivered in the Lecture-Room, upon the Being and Attributes of GOD, and the chief Points of Natural Religion . . . And I cannot recollect, that I ever heard a better *Academical Discourse* from any of the young *Students* with whom I have been acquainted.[125]

The distance between the author of the biography and Steffe's tutor all but vanishes here, but Doddridge still seeks to retain it. Doddridge adopts a similar strategy in 'An Account of Mr Jennings's Method', in which he addresses 'a Friend' with intentions of reviving Jennings's course even though he was probably the one with those intentions, suggesting that it is a conscious pose in his writings about academies. Introducing a narrator who is separate from Steffe's tutor has the effect of verifying the account with the stamp of personal witness while the first person testimony contributes the warmth of personal engagement, a quality that was very important to Doddridge.

This was the first time a detailed account of the curriculum of a dissenting academy had been set out in print since the pamphlet dispute of 1703 between Samuel Wesley and Samuel Palmer, which alluded to the heterodox

[123] Doddridge, 'Life of Thomas Steffe', v.
[124] Doddridge, 'Life of Thomas Steffe', xvi-xvii. Love notes that printed texts, 'being an article of commerce, had no easy way of excluding readers'. That being so, Doddridge may have been seeking to protect himself from any possible attack from hostile readers. See Love, *Scribal Publication*, 183.
[125] Doddridge, 'Life of Thomas Steffe', xli.

reading permitted at Charles Morton's academy in London.[126] There is little evidence of printed accounts of other educational institutions for this period either.[127] Education appears to have been largely considered a private matter, which may account for Doddridge's narratorial manner in the 'Life of Steffe'.[128] By describing his academy in print, Doddridge publicly declares his conviction of the necessity of a rigorous and effective education, and, linked to this, promotes his own academy's focus on a continually evolving curriculum which entails the introduction of new reading as new books are published, and experimentation with new teaching methods. He is presenting the practices, principles and results of a dissenting academy education to an open audience. The polite yet familiar tone of the work is a tool for presenting a memorial that also functions as an advertisement and does so without contravening decorum. This is both an innovative use of the memorial form and an example of the literary characteristics of Doddridge's writing. The form of the volume (a narrative biography and a series of sermons) combines a description of Doddridge's academic and pastoral course with a demonstration of the results of his educational programme. The sermons serve as a recommendation for the educational method; the biography as a guide to how to form pious and learned young ministers.

Though Doddridge produced no other account of his academy during his lifetime, the 'Life of Steffe' and Doddridge's own reputation were sufficient to spread knowledge of his academy beyond his immediate circle. When Richard Newton, engaged in the process of refounding Hertford College, Oxford in the 1740s, wrote to Doddridge requesting an account of his academy, Doddridge sent him a copy of *Sermons on Several Subjects*.[129] Newton drew up the statutes for Hertford College, which emphasise the religious and social discipline expected

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[126] Samuel Wesley, *A Letter from a Country Divine to his Friend in London. Concerning the Education of the Dissenters* (London, 1703); Samuel Palmer, *A Defence of the Dissenters Education in their Private Academies* (London, 1703). This author is not the same person as the Samuel Palmer who is discussed elsewhere in this thesis.

[127] Some descriptions of mechanics' academies which served as advertisements are an exception to this.

[128] Daniel Waterland's *Advice to A Young Student*, which had circulated around Cambridge in manuscript for two decades, was published in the journal *Memoirs of Literature* in 1729, to Waterland's irritation.

[129] *Cal*. 947, 961. Newton's response – that 'there is no harm in making a perfect model' – indicates that he considered the portrayal of Steffe to have been an idealisation, and that he feared his own students would not meet Steffe's standards of piety and diligence.

of students. The example of the more closely-supervised activities of students at dissenting academies may have informed efforts to combat the perceived laxity of discipline and learning at the university, for Doddridge received a draft of the statues (which were printed in 1747) some time before 1744. Newton may have been prepared to incorporate Doddridge's views and suggestions into the regulations for Hertford College, for he explains to the public that the primary reason for printing the statutes is so that 'he may the better collect the Thoughts of serious Men concerning them, and have Opportunity to make such Alterations therein, as he shall be well Advised are Proper to be made'.[130] Doddridge thus participated in the exchange of ideas about the forms of education in the universities as well as in dissenting academies.[131]

Like Newton, Aaron Burr, the second principal of New Jersey College (which later became Princeton), also sent Doddridge documents relating to the foundation of his college.[132] Doddridge evidently also sent a copy of Steffe's sermons to the college, for Burr responded enthusiastically to the portrayal of Doddridge's diligent students, 'a delightful specimen of which I had in Mr Steffe' and requested that Doddridge compose 'A Letter of Advice to the students under my care, which is so much needed'.[133] Burr described the growth and conduct of his college, expressed his own ambitions for the education he offered, asked Doddridge's advice on potential teachers of middle eastern languages, sought information about Doddridge's method of teaching ecclesiastical history, and suggested that ministers trained by Doddridge travel to New England to work as tutors.[134] Doddridge supported the intellectual and pedagogical development of the college in America by offering Burr advice and sending books to the college library.

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[130] Richard Newton, *Rules and Statutes for the Government of Hertford College* (London, 1747), iii-iv.

[131] Doddridge maintained correspondence with several fellows of Oxford and Cambridge colleges, including Thomas Hunt of Hertford College, Professor of Hebrew. See Chapter two, section one below.

[132] Burr refers to an enclosed 'Copy of our Charter for erecting a College', no longer extant: see Aaron Burr to Philip Doddridge, 24 November 1748. *Cal.* 1420.

[133] Aaron Burr to Philip Doddridge, 8 October 1749. *Cal.* 1544. There is no evidence that Doddridge sent any such letter of advice.

[134] Aaron Burr to Philip Doddridge 8 October 1749 (*Cal.* 1544); 31 May 1750 (*Cal.* 1616); 26 September 1750 (*Cal.* 1661). Burr notes that he hopes to teach Hebrew to a higher level than he was taught it at Yale College.

The positive reputation that Doddridge's teaching and the conduct of his academy gained is evident from the letters of leaders of other kinds of educational institutions. His 'Life of Steffe' was acknowledged by both Newton and Burr as a helpful source of information about the curriculum and ministerial training offered at Doddridge's academy. While it was partly through personal contact with Doddridge that the practices of dissenting academies began to inform the conduct of the English universities and American colleges, Doddridge's use of print contributed to the development of his own reputation and that of dissenting education. This can be seen as an extension of the project begun in 'An Account of Mr Jennings's Method', which successfully broadcast information about a little known dissenting academy to other interested dissenters. Doddridge's 'An Account of Mr Jennings's Method' presented an extremely detailed programme of changes that would transform the course, whereas the printed account in the 'Life of Thomas Steffe' gave an outline of the course which highlighted its unusual features.

The close study of extant lecture notes has revealed that dissenting academy theology lectures bore Doddridge's influence in a variety of ways including their form, their references and their capacity to be changed. By contrast, his preaching lectures were a fixed body of information. The combination of the adaptation and use of Doddridge's own lectures and the diffusion of his educational ideas through letters and printed accounts meant that both the content and structure of his course and the reasons for conducting it in such a way were recorded and understood by his contemporaries outside the world of dissenting academies and his successors within it. The publication of his learned works also contributed to the dissemination of his educational ideas, and this is the subject of Chapter two.

Chapter Two

The posthumous publication of Philip Doddridge's works

Philip Doddridge died in October 1751, after working as a tutor for twenty-two years. By October 1752, his students and the books from the academy library had moved to Daventry, where his former student Caleb Ashworth began teaching Doddridge's course.[1] Once the continuation of Doddridge's academy was settled, his successors turned their attention to completing his publishing projects. Doddridge had pursued these in his lifetime in order to spread his ideas beyond his primary audience of students, congregation members, and his local community. The major posthumous publications were *The Family Expositor* (1739-56; volumes IV, V and VI published in 1753 and 1756), and the educational works *A Course of Lectures on the Principal Subjects of Pneumatology, Ethics and Divinity* (1763) and the 'Lectures on Preaching' (first published in its entirety in volume five of the complete *Works* (1805)).[2] Taken together, these works are representative of Doddridge's literary, religious and intellectual priorities.[3]

Each publication represents a distinct process by which Doddridge's reputation was constructed by transposing manuscript materials into printed books. The first part of this chapter concentrates on the practical and material aspects of this process by investigating the range of negotiations undertaken by Doddridge's associates to effect the publication of the final three volumes of *The Family Expositor* and subsequent editions of the entire work. The importance of Doddridge's widow as a financial and cultural broker emerges here: Mercy Doddridge monitored the activities of Doddridge's associates and negotiated with booksellers, both in her own voice and through intermediaries. The

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[1] Samuel Clark junior was approved by the Coward Trustees to lead the academy during Doddridge's final illness and after his death: see *Cal.* 1770. The Coward Trust paid Mercy Doddridge £150 for the books from the academy library: see DWL MS NCL CT.1, p. 143. Ashworth wrote to Mercy Doddridge about the logistics of moving the academy equipment to Daventry throughout the autumn of 1752: see DWL MS NCL L.1/3/162-5.

[2] In Doddridge's lifetime, there was debate about translating *The Family Expositor* and some other works into German, *Cal.* 1557, 1631. *The Family Expositor* was translated into German by Friedrich Rambach as *Paraphrastische Erklärung der Sämmtlichen Schriften des Neuen Testaments* (Magdeburg, 1749).

[3] Two other significant works, which continued to be reprinted throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, were Doddridge's handbook of practical religion *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul* (London, 1745) and the evangelical biography *Some Remarkable Passages in the Life of the Col. James Gardiner* (London, 1747).

publication of this multi-volume work demonstrates how the collective process of fulfilling Doddridge's wishes and completing the publication of the work operated. The anxieties associated with both the business and editorial aspects of the publication reflect the fact that this was Doddridge's most prestigious and complex publication.

Doddridge's *Course of Lectures* had three editors (Samuel Clark, Andrew Kippis and Edward Williams) over forty years. The reasons for and consequences of this are considered through readings of the prefatory rhetoric and textual interventions of each editor. Kippis and then Williams modified the work of their predecessors and made claims for a relationship between their version of the lectures and Doddridge's own course which the texts themselves belie, for both are very different to Clark's edition. Each editor expresses his view of what the publication is doing to Doddridge, to the lectures and to dissent. The form of the course and what it meant that it was Doddridge's changes considerably across printed versions of what is ostensibly the same work, but rather differently from the changing shape of his lecture course as represented in manuscript copies of student lecture notes investigated in Chapter one.[4]

The role of the editor in the provisional, partial and cumulative publication of materials whose suitability for print was repeatedly questioned is explored via a study of Doddridge's 'Lectures on Preaching'. The divergence of opinion among dissenters about what was fit to be published had a denominational dimension, as readers and editors sought to reaffirm the significance of Doddridge as a figurehead for particular orthodox or heterodox positions within dissent. The different formats and print locations in which the 'Lectures on Preaching' were published gave it different meanings. As a separately printed series of lectures, it was presented to purchasers unable to invest in the ten-volume edition of Doddridge's *Works*.

The process of establishing Doddridge as an exemplar of dissenting learning took place over fifty years, in manuscript and print, in magazines, serial publications and substantial multi-volume works. The books themselves attest to the determination of Doddridge's associates to fashion him into a significant cultural and intellectual influence on dissent and beyond it, though letters and

[4] For an extended discussion of the mutability of printed texts, see David McKitterick, *Manuscript, Print and the Search for Meaning*, 8, and ch. 4.

magazine articles reveal anxiety among leading dissenters about how best to display the public face of dissent in print.

1. *The Family Expositor* in Doddridge's lifetime

Philip Doddridge's *Family Expositor* was characterised by his biographer Job Orton as 'his Capital-work' which 'He had been preparing . . . from his Entrance on the Ministry'.[5] It was an ambitious compendium of New Testament translation, paraphrase and commentary conceived by Doddridge as a learned work for family reading which would awaken and consolidate religious feeling.[6] The mise-en-page is highly unusual, consisting of a main text of Doddridge's own translation of the New Testament interwoven with his paraphrase which, in the case of the gospels, 'harmonises' the words of the four evangelists into a single narrative. Surrounding it are critical notes of commentary, translation and interpretation, and passages of 'improvement' containing Doddridge's suggestions for meditations and extempore prayer.[7] The title of *The Family Expositor* emphasised Doddridge's hope that it would be used in family prayers, perhaps being read out loud by the head of the household. Its complex textual apparatus surrounded the New Testament with learned, practical and emotionally affective additions, and the site of the page invited and guided a range of responses to the gospels and epistles. It was much reprinted from its publication in 1739 until the middle of the nineteenth century.[8] By the time of Doddridge's death in 1751 only the first three volumes (of six) had been published by the dissenting booksellers Richard Hett and James Waugh.[9]

In his lifetime, Doddridge oversaw every stage from composition to publication. He treated each volume of the work as a separate enterprise, perhaps

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[5] Orton, *Memoirs*, 143.
[6] *Cal*. 527.
[7] For a detailed account of the structure of *The Family Expositor*, see Isabel Rivers, 'Philip Doddridge's New Testament: *The Family Expositor* (1739-56)', in *The King James Bible After Four Hundred Years: Literary, Linguistic, and Cultural Influences*, ed. Hannibal Hamlin and Norman W. Jones (Cambridge, 2010), 124-45.
[8] John Guyse, another dissenting minister, published a similar work entitled *A Practical Expositor* at almost the same time as Doddridge's, but it was not a success. See G. F. Nuttall, 'Philip Doddridge, John Guyse and their Expositors', in *Kerkhistorische Opstellen Aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. J. van den Berg*, ed. C. Augustijn, P. N. Holtrop et al. (Kampen, 1987), 102-13.
[9] It has not been possible to establish when it was decided to produce six volumes. Doddridge wrote to Samuel Clark on 10 November 1736 saying that 'the Harmony of y^{e} Evangelists, & perhaps Acts, will make the two first Volumes.' DWL MS NCL L.1/10/38; *Cal*. 443.

because the complexity of the text meant each took a long time to complete, and he feared his health would not last:

> My Family Expositor goes on almost every Day & I press on y^{e} faster in it that I may leave that on y^{e} Evangelists compleat if w^{t} I have great Reason to expect God should call me speedily away. If I live I will give it a very attentive Review after you S^{r} & some other Friends have examined this rough & very imperfect Draught of it.[10]

The Family Expositor took its shape amid his schedule of lectures, pastoral visits and preaching, and its content developed partly out of these tasks, for sections of the text began life in the academy lecture-room.

Doddridge also sought comments from trusted friends such as Clark and corresponded with other dissenters, among them the Presbyterian minister and biblical scholar Nathaniel Lardner, whose *Credibility of Gospel History* (1727) was an important contribution to the study of the New Testament.[11] Lardner offered historical information and gave his preferred translation of some terms, agreed with points where Doddridge questioned the authenticity of the text, and suggested books that Doddridge might read to clarify points of interpretation.[12] Doddridge extended his intellectual circle during the composition of the work still further by corresponding with learned Anglicans such as the religious controversialist William Warburton; George Costard, Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford; and Thomas Hunt of Hertford College.[13] From them he sought advice on matters of translation and biblical scholarship, and they offered him their knowledge and resources.[14] He may also have hoped that their involvement would recommend the work to university and established church associates.[15]

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[10] Philip Doddridge Samuel Clarke, 1 January 1736/7. DWL MS NCL L.1/10/20; *Cal*. 452.
[11] Alexander Gordon, 'Lardner, Nathaniel (1684–1768)', rev. Alan P. F. Sell, *ODNB*.
[12] *Cal*. 1433; Humphreys, V, 98-101.
[13] *Cal*. 457, 501, 582. Hunt became Professor of Arabic in 1738, and of Hebrew in 1747. See Colin Wakefield, 'Hunt, Thomas (1696–1774)', *ODNB*. Costard, also an expert in oriental languages, was primarily known as a writer on ancient astronomy. See Anita McConnell, 'Costard, George (*bap.* 1710, *d.* 1782)', *ODNB*. See also B. W. Young, 'Warburton, William (1698–1779)', *ONDB*.
[14] Doddridge apparently asked to borrow a copy of Maimonides, *De jure pauperis et peregrini apud Judaeos* (Oxford, 1679), for in a letter dated 2 August 1745, Hunt offered to consult the work (a parallel text in Hebrew and Latin) in the Bodleian Library on Doddridge's behalf. Humphreys, IV, 427; *Cal.* 1083.
[15] William Warburton gathered subscribers to *The Family Expositor*, including Philip Yonge, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge whom he described as 'the principal tutor in his college'. William Warburton to Philip Doddridge, 15 August 1739. *Cal*. 558; Humphreys, III, 394.

The epistolary exchanges these men conducted were sometimes registered in Doddridge's published works. Warburton suggested an alternative interpretation of Jesus' words in Luke 20:8, for example, which Doddridge incorporated into volume II of *The Family Expositor*. He credited the suggestion to a 'very accurate and learned Friend,' and did not name Warburton directly.[16] Warburton similarly thanked Doddridge for material he used in his own work.[17] The process of writing and publishing *The Family Expositor* introduced Doddridge into a circle of scholars who alluded to their personal, learned epistolary exchanges in print. The intellectual prestige of *The Family Expositor* assured Doddridge's reputation among these scholars.

The publication of *The Family Expositor* fell into several distinct phases. Doddridge began to work towards publication in 1736 and the first volume was published at beginning of 1739. It appears that the first volume was highly anticipated, and sold well: soon after publication, Doddridge told Samuel Clark 'so few copies are left' of the thousand printed 'that the remaining copies will . . . be dispos'd of at a Guinea a Set'.[18] Throughout 1739 and 1740 correspondents inquired about the progress of volume II: that summer, William Warburton was most impatient for its publication.[19] Volume II was published in September 1740 and priced at one guinea. At this stage, Doddridge expressed dissatisfaction with the quality of Richard Hett's materials and work. He told his wife he was 'a little chagrined to see how much [volume II] is disgraced by the bad Paper & Letter on which the Preface is done'.[20] Volume III was eventually published in 1748, by James Waugh rather than Richard Hett. The pause between publication of volumes II and III generated numerous inquiries. Shortly before publication Doddridge told Samuel Clark that volume III 'has long been finished by me &

[16] *The Family Expositor*, II, 325. Earlier, he had characterised Warburton as 'An excellent Person, justly celebrated in the Learned World' (49). For Warburton's suggested interpretation, see Humphreys, III, 394-6. Doddridge's reason for not naming Warburton may have been to conform to his own strict code of propriety.
[17] Warburton wrote to Doddridge: 'I had occasion to quote a paragraph of yours of a passage in the evangelists', 2 February 1740/1. Humphreys, III, 530; *Cal*. 659.
[18] Philip Doddridge to Samuel Clark, 27 February 1738/9. DWL MS NCL L.1/10/47; *Cal*. 535.
[19] *Cal*. 615.
[20] Philip Doddridge to Mercy Doddridge, 9 September 1740. *Cal*. 641. This criticism is particularly significant as the quality of the letter and paper of the first volume were two features specifically mentioned by Doddridge in his first preface: Doddridge, *The Family Expositor*, I, vii.

only waits for M[r] Godwin's Index'.[21] Edward Godwin's slow work with the index and the complexities associated with changing publisher may have contributed to the delay. An agreement between Doddridge and Waugh in 1751 was for one thousand copies of volume IV to be printed, and both he and Waugh were anxious that printing should begin immediately.[22] Doddridge, however, died before this happened. The fourth volume was not published until 1753 and volumes five and six both appeared in 1756.

2. Subscribing to *The Family Expositor*

Publication of *The Family Expositor* was partly financed by subscription.[23] Doddridge regularly pressed his correspondents to try and gather subscribers in their own communities and made personal visits to dissenting meetings at which he preached and then urged his hearers to subscribe to the work.[24] Printed proposals for the work, which included a form for subscribers to fill in and return with the subscription money, also circulated.[25]

The subscriber lists that appear in volumes I, II, IV and V display the support of dissenters around the country, dissenting and Church of England members of the local Northampton community, a wider network of scholars and churchmen throughout England and Scotland, in Europe and New England. Subscription publishing was often (but not exclusively) used to finance projects that booksellers did not want to fund alone.[26] Models for publication by

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[21] Philip Doddridge to Samuel Clark, 30 November 1746. DWL MS NCL L.1/10/76; *Cal*. 1204. Edward Godwin (1695-1764) was a dissenting minister with whom Doddridge often stayed in London. His son attended Doddridge's academy, and his grandson was the author William Godwin.

[22] Philip Doddridge to Mercy Doddridge, 12 June 1751. *Cal*. 1742.

[23] For an outline of subscription publishing in the eighteenth century, see Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book*, 225-27. A database of books published by subscription with an introductory account of different forms of subscription publishing appears in F. J. G. Rob and P. J. Webb, *Book Subscriber Lists: A Revised Guide* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1975), i-xix.

[24] *Cal*. 482, 387, 477, 501, 582.

[25] *Proposals For Printing by Subscription, In three volumes in Quarto, The Family Expositor, On the Epistolary Part of the New Testament, with The Book of the Revelation.* A copy of this document held at the BL is undergoing conservation. The BL Integrated Catalogue entry suggests a date and place of London, 1751 and notes: 'Copy at: HS.74/1408/6. Receipt portion of proposal on verso has blanks completed and signed in MS. by P. Doddridge and dated May 31. 1751.'

[26] Though the printing was financed by subscription, Doddridge was paid by the booksellers. He negotiated the terms of publication for each volume as it neared completion. For volume II, for example, Richard Hett 'bid me 400 guineas for my *Family Expositor* on the evangelists & will

subscription became increasingly diverse in the eighteenth century.[27] Alexander Pope used subscription publishing to produce elite editions of his works, in which the list of subscribers was a feature which both displayed the high status of the edition and conferred prestige on the subscribers thanks to the grandeur of the publication. However, he was using a model from an earlier age, and abandoned the high status subscription publication model from the 1730s.[28] Later in the eighteenth century, multi-volume religious works by dissenters and evangelicals were often published by subscription, including Isaac Watts's *Works* (1754), Samuel Palmer's editorial project *The Nonconformist's Memorial* (1775), and Erasmus Middleton's *Biographia Evangelica* (1779-86).[29] These lists allowed subscribers to announce their membership of an imagined religious community, thereby emphasising the association between a work and a particular readership.

The purpose and presentation of the subscription to *The Family Expositor*, started before these other works, demonstrates that subscription publishing was not necessarily either elite or low status. By printing the full list of subscribers at the start of the first volume across nineteen pages, Doddridge and his bookseller were broadcasting the reach and audience of the work. Doddridge's prominent position in society was advertised, and perhaps to an extent created, by the public affirmation that over a thousand people with different religious, social and geographical backgrounds were prepared to invest in his work before seeing it. The display of the subscriber lists demonstrates widespread confidence in the work and establishes Doddridge as an author who could create a reading community out of dissenters, members of the established church, fellows of Oxford and Cambridge colleges, members of polite society such as the Princess of Wales (to whom the work was dedicated) and the Earl of Halifax, and civic leaders such as members of parliament.[30] Future editions of the work became a

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take all the Trouble & Charge of the Impression on himself, & pay me the Money down'. Philip Doddridge to Mercy Doddridge, 18 February 1737/8. *Cal*. 492.

[27] Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book*, 224-35.

[28] Describing the small-format series of volumes Pope published from 1735 onwards, James McLaverty notes 'It rather looks as though Pope regarded his subscribers/collectors as a diminishing band.' James McLaverty, *Pope, Print and Meaning*, 214.

[29] See, Chapter three, section four and Chapter four, section five below.

[30] The dedication of *The Family Expositor* to Augusta, Princess of Wales is discussed in J. H. Taylor, 'Doddridge's "Most Considerable Work": *The Family Expositor*', *Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society*, 7 (2004), 235-52 (250-1). For an account of Doddridge's

vehicle for other models of subscription publishing: between 1759 and 1762 it was published in 155 instalments. Subscribers made weekly payments of sixpence and received a 24-page booklet in return.[31] Such a practice opened up the work to a market of less wealthy readers who could not afford the up front outlay of several guineas. Doddridge had also thought such readers were important, and had planned a small-format edition to cater to them, which was never published.[32]

The first volume of *The Family Expositor* was published following the drive for subscriptions. Additional subscribers emerged following the publication of the first volume, and were listed in an appendix to the second volume (1740). A high proportion of these new subscribers were identified in the list as booksellers, suggesting either that they had seen the positive reception of the first volume, decided that they would be able to sell copies of the work and therefore wanted to obtain copies of future volumes at a discounted rate for this purpose, or were ordering copies on behalf of particular customers. Also present in the list of new subscribers are those not resident in England: ministers in the Low Countries and several inhabitants of Edinburgh. The list in volume II is only two pages long, indicating that most subscribers had previously committed themselves to the first and subsequent volumes. Isaac Watts, acting as a subscription agent for acquaintances in New England, made it clear that one subscription covered the first two volumes: 'I have subscribed for yourself, and lately for M^{r} Cooper (whose money also I received a fortnight ago) and I paid the

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relations with the local political elite, see Victor A. Hatley, 'A Local Dimension: Philip Doddridge and Northampton Politics', in *Philip Doddridge, Nonconformity and Northampton*, 77-90.

[31] The printing was scheduled to start on Saturday 3 November 1759 and 'be continued without interruption'. James Rivington, *Proposals for Printing by Subscription in Weekly Numbers . . . Dr. Doddridge's Family Expositor* (London, 1759). For a more detailed account of this scheme, see section 5 below. The final instalment was advertised in the *London Evening Post* on 14 October 1762.

[32] 'My pres^{t} scheme is first an Edition in 4to. wth pretty large Critical Notes then another in 12°. or small 8° like y^{e} Spectators Edit^{n}. without notes & for y^{e} Service of poorer Families'. Philip Doddridge to Samuel Clark, 17 April 1737. DWL MS NCL L.1/10/22; *Cal*. 456. He later considered publishing an abridgement (*Cal*. 1736), and one did appear in 1765: *A New Translation of the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Extracted from the Paraphrase of the Late Philip Doddridge, D.D. and Carefully Revised*, ed. Samuel Palmer, 2 vols. (London, 1765). This work retains Doddridge's translation of the New Testament, but omits his paraphrase, and condenses the introduction to each New Testament epistle and transfers them all to the beginning of the work. There were further editions in 1800 and in America in 1807. For Palmer, see Alexander Gordon, 'Palmer, Samuel (1741–1813)', rev. S. J. Skedd, *ODNB* and Chapter four below.

whole subscription (viz) sixteen shillings for D[r] Doddridge's two volumes'.[33] There is no list of subscribers to either volume III or volume VI.[34] The same model of gathering subscriptions instituted by Doddridge for the three volumes published in his lifetime was followed for the volumes published posthumously.[35] Volume IV (1753) attracted over a thousand subscribers.[36] This was approaching ten times the number of subscribers to Watts's *Works* published in the same year (it had 136 subscribers), indicating that the number of purchasers committed to the project remained high in comparison to other publications. However, it was also considerably fewer than the 1600 subscribers to volume I.[37]

In keeping with the title of *The Family Expositor*, many family names from the lists in the first two volumes recur throughout the later lists.[38] For example, Miss Elizabeth Abney subscribed to Volume IV, her mother, Mrs Abney, having subscribed to volume I.[39] Alan Everitt notes these familial patterns in his study of the subscriber lists. His analysis, seeking to counter the theory of an apparent decline in religious revival in the Midlands after the 1740s, neglects to note other remarkable features of the subscriber lists, such as the

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[33] Isaac Watts to Benjamin Colman, 31 May 1738. MHS *Proceedings*, 2nd ser., vol. IX (1894-95), 359.

[34] Describing the forthcoming third volume of *The Family Expositor* in the preface to *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul* (London, 1745), Doddridge writes: 'I do not think it necessary to trouble my Friends with a new Subscription; taking it for granted that few, who were pleased with the other Part of the Work, will fail of Perfecting the Sett' (xi).

[35] A few copies of *Proposals for Printing by Subscription, in three volumes in Quarto, The Family Expositor, on the epistolary part of the New Testament, with The Book of the Revelation* survive, dated 1751 and 1752. The way *The Family Expositor* is defined in this document makes it clear this is volumes IV-VI (volumes I-III contained the four evangelists and the Acts of the Apostles). The original subscription drive for this phase was interrupted by Doddridge's death, and was resumed in 1752.

[36] 'Of the total of 2,800 about 1,600 subscribed when the first volume appeared in 1739, a further 150 on publication of the second volume in 1740, and another 1,035 in 1753 and 1756, when the last two volumes were issued after Doddridge's death.' Alan Everitt, 'Streams of Sensibility: Philip Doddridge of Northampton and the Evangelical Tradition' in *Landscape and Community in England* (London and Ronceverte, 1985), 209-46 (229).

[37] For further discussion of the subscribers to Watts's *Works* and comparison with *The Family Expositor*, see Chapter three, section four below. The decline in the number of subscribers to *The Family Expositor* might indicate that the volumes on the gospels were of more interest to purchasers than the later volumes on the epistles and Book of Revelation that make up the rest of the New Testament.

[38] Evidence of Doddridge's friends collecting subscriptions can be found in his correspondence, see *Cal*. 596, 604, 663.

[39] The Abney family were high-profile lay dissenters. Sir Thomas Abney (1639/40-1722) had been mayor of London, and his wife was a significant patron of dissenters including Isaac Watts, who lived with the Abney family. Gary S. De Krey, 'Abney, Sir Thomas (1639/40-1722)', *ODNB*.

evidence they provide for Doddridge's growing international reputation. Volume II lists 'The Reverend Mr. Benion, Minister of the French Church at Rotterdam', 'The Reverend De-la-fay, D.D. Minister of the English Church at Utrecht' and 'The Reverend Monsieur Du-Mont, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, and Minister of the French Church at Rotterdam'; Volume IV lists merchants from Rotterdam among its subscribers, indicating that the appeal of the work had spread beyond the clergy of that city, and 'Mr Edward Brown, of Lisbon', where Doddridge had died. Everitt also neglects the short supplementary list in volume V which include 'Reverend Samuel Davies, A.M. of Hanover, Virginia' as well as numerous booksellers, peers and high-ranking cathedral clergy.[40] Subscribers to *The Family Expositor* in the 1730s, 40s and 50s clearly saw the work as a scholarly resource suitable for the next generation of clergy, and the number of female and lay subscribers indicates the work found its way into homes, perhaps being used for the family reading the title encouraged.

3. Publishing volumes IV-VI of *The Family Expositor* (1752-56)

The provisions of Doddridge's will suggest that he envisioned the publication of the remaining volumes of *The Family Expositor* as a collaborative enterprise among his associates. He appointed his wife Mercy to be his executrix, and left her the manuscript of *The Family Expositor*. He requested that Job Orton and Nathaniel Neal 'by their prudent Advice [will] assist my dear Wife in the many difficulties which she must of course meet with in her Affairs', instructed Orton and Caleb Ashworth to 'get [*The Family Expositor*] Transcribed under their direction', and suggested that 'it may be published by a Subscription to be opened as soon as possible after my death'.[41] In 1752, Mercy Doddridge set in motion the publication of the remaining three volumes.[42] Her principal assistants

[40] *The Family Expositor*, II, vii; IV, vii-viii; V, sig. a4. For information about English and Scottish congregations in the Low Countries, see William Stevens, *The History of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam* (Edinburgh, 1832).
[41] TNA: PRO PROB 11/ 791 sig. 332. I am grateful to Isabel Rivers for making this document available. Nathaniel Neal (d. 1765) was a lawyer in London and a Coward Trustee. He was the son of Daniel Neal.
[42] In Doddridge's lifetime Mercy Doddridge had played a role in the preparations for the publication of *The Family Expositor*: during a visit to London in 1740, she had passed on Doddridge's request that William Godwin draw up an index to the first three volumes, and

were Job Orton, Caleb Ashworth and Samuel Clark, the son of Doddridge's mentor. They had all been Doddridge's students, and Ashworth and Clark were the tutors of Daventry academy. They completed the task of transcribing Doddridge's manuscript from shorthand to longhand, organised the proof-reading, and assisted Mercy Doddridge in her negotiations with the booksellers. The geographical dispersal of the individuals (Mercy Doddridge in Northampton, Ashworth and Clark in Daventry, Orton in Shrewsbury, booksellers and other associates in London) led to some logistical complexities. On 25 July 1754 Clark responded to an invitation from Mercy Doddridge, saying: 'I sh^{d}. be very glad to do any thing in my Power to forw^{d}. the Publicat^{n}. of the F.E. & if my correcting the Proof Sheets is judg'd of any Importance for that end, I sh^{d} willingly undertake it'.[43] Clark took his task very seriously, and the matter of transporting the proof-sheets between London, Northampton and Daventry was later to become a time-consuming problem of security for him. In October and November 1754 he fretted that the proofs of the section on Paul's Epistle to the Colossians, which were to have been sent with Dr Stonhouse (a resident of Northampton), had not arrived, and investigated alternative means of circulating the materials.

As well as the manuscript being transcribed and the proof sheets corrected, materials had to be supplemented and revised. Samuel Clark, in his letter agreeing to check the proofs in 1754, had said 'If I sh^{d}. undertake y^{e} F.E. I think wth M^{r} Godw[in]. that M^{r} Fourn[eaux]. sh^{d} by all means write the Introduct^{ns}. both for the reason you mention, & that they may all appear alike', indicating that consistency of tone across all the published volumes was desired.[44] Soon after, Clark wrote to Mercy Doddridge from London with information about the extent of corrections already undertaken and to tell her that Philip Furneaux had declined to write introductions to the commentaries on the books of the New Testament included in volumes V and VI.[45] Furthermore,

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conveyed the preface to volume II to Godwin to be checked. See DWL MS NCL L1/1/16; *Cal.* 620. See also *Cal.* 621.

[43] Samuel Clark to Mercy Doddridge, 25 July 1754. DWL MS NCL L.1/4/193. As volume IV had been published in 1753, these arrangements were for volumes V and VI.

[44] Samuel Clark to Mercy Doddridge, 25 July 1754. DWL MS NCL L.1/4/193. Philip Furneaux lived in London and was a Trustee of several dissenters' educational and charitable funds. See Alan Ruston, 'Furneaux, Philip (1726–1783)', *ODNB*.

[45] Samuel Clark to Mercy Doddridge, 4 August 1754. DWL MS NCL L.1/4/194.

in September 1755, Clark was having trouble finding someone to draw up the indexes.[46] It seems that persuading people to contribute to the publishing effort could be difficult. However, Furneaux did in the end agree to help, and in 1756 he wrote to Mercy Doddridge describing the sections he had contributed to *The Family Expositor*.[47] Although Mercy Doddridge and Clark had hoped that one individual would do all the additional writing, three men completed introductions and indexes, for Godwin and Clark contributed as well as Furneaux.[48]

While Clark and Furneaux contributed to the editorial effort, Caleb Ashworth negotiated with booksellers about accounting issues and Job Orton co-ordinated the process of completing the book. Orton did not find the task an easy one, and in particular found Edward Godwin's slow pace of work difficult to bear. He told Mercy Doddridge: 'I am astonished at your Intelligence of M^{r} Godwyn's transcribing &c y^{e} 5th Volume as it was all transcribed by y^{e} D^{r} & most of it had been reviewed and corrected by him.'[49] He followed this up some weeks later: 'I know not what can be done with Regard to M^{r} Godwyn. What he is doing occasions a very great & improper Delay to the Work, & will I apprehend add little or nothing to its Acceptance and Usefulness'.[50] Orton did not want to approach Godwin directly, however: he claimed the two men could not discuss the matter in person because he and Godwin did not live near each other, but a letter would not afford him the space to anticipate and answer Godwin's concerns with due politeness. Better, he suggested, for Nathaniel Neal or Philip Furneaux to pay a personal visit.[51] Completing Doddridge's work required the collaboration of a group of dissenters who did not necessarily know one another well or share the same view of how best to enact Doddridge's wishes. Throughout the publishing process, Orton grappled with the niceties of

[46] DWL MS NCL L.1/5/8.
[47] Northampton Public Library MS DO/01/233. Earlier, Furneaux had written to Mercy Doddridge assuring her that his work on volume IV was nearly complete: see DWL MS NCL L.1/5/184.
[48] In 1764, Furneaux privately revealed the collaborative work to one of his associates, who noted it in his commonplace book. In the nineteenth century the information was published as a letter to a periodical: see *Monthly Repository*, 13 (1818), 734-5.
[49] Job Orton to Mercy Doddridge, 29 October 1753. DWL MS NCL L.1/7/182.
[50] Job Orton to Mercy Doddridge, 3 December 1753. DWL MS NCL L.1/7/183.
[51] 'I know not how to write to him upon this Subject as he will certainly know I am urged to it by you or M^{r} Waugh – I think it would be very easy & natural for M^{r} Neal or M^{r} Furneaux to wait upon him'. Job Orton to Mercy Doddridge, 3 December 1753. DWL MS NCL L.1/7/183.

social relations and the pragmatics imposed by geographical restrictions, and sought to activate the personal connections among dissenters to sustain the project.

Orton was also concerned about the conduct of revising the text for publication. He took personal responsibility for checking the manuscript, and carefully devised an editorial procedure which followed Doddridge's own words and practices, in order to bring the process, as well as the completed work, as close to Doddridge as possible. For example, Orton requested that Samuel Clark consult books in the Daventry academy library that had come from Doddridge's own library to identify references that in the manuscript were unclear:

> I must give you some further trouble about the Expositor, which is, to consult "Vitringa's Obs." where he observes "that there was an officer in the synagogue who had the name of *Angel*", to illustrate *Rev.* i.20. ii.1, &c. The Doctor in his MS Note about the Dragon in the Revelation, mentions one in the Royal Society's repository ___ feet long. Have you any book in the library out of which you can supply that blank?[52]

Orton saw Doddridge's library as a resource which could resolve questions raised while editing the manuscript. He considered it important to use Doddridge's own copies of particular works in order to preserve the integrity of the project. The exactitude of his practice of following Doddridge's methods and using his own books meant that the final work could be branded as Doddridge's alone. This was important to Orton because the slow circulation of information and changes made to the text contributed to delays in the publication of the work, and he feared that the longer after Doddridge's death the volumes appeared, the greater the suspicion might be that the work was not authentic.

This completion and publication of *The Family Expositor* was a collective process, and by no means a painless one. Each member of the group had to deal with others (often far away) to complete his tasks, all developments had to be reported to Mercy Doddridge (often via Job Orton) and all decisions approved by her. While the process of completing *The Family Expositor* relied

[52] Job Orton to Samuel Clark, 22 December 1752: see *Letters to Dissenting Ministers and to Students for the Ministry*, ed. Samuel Palmer, 2 vols. (London, 1806), I, 14-15. Palmer adds a footnote: '*The length is about twenty-three feet. See the Doctor's Note on *Rev*. xii. 3, as thus completed.' (15). Doddridge's copy of the work referred to, in which volumes from two different editions are bound together, is held at DWL, shelfmark 3007.E.8. Campegius Vitringa, *Observationum sacrarum*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1721 and Franeker, 1723).

on the collective activities of Doddridge's intellectual community, in print *The Family Expositor* was consistently and deliberately presented to its readers as wholly and solely Doddridge's work.

The printed appearance of *The Family Expositor* reveals very little of the overlapping involvement of different individuals involved in its construction. Job Orton and Mercy Doddridge corresponded over this carefully considered decision. Orton was particularly worried about how to present the final volume, which was the part of the work containing the most material from hands other than Doddridge's. In a letter to Mercy Doddridge a year before publication, Orton articulated some of his difficulties over presenting the work in print. The issues concerning him were whether, or indeed how, to explain who had done what to the work; how closely what was done reflected Doddridge's wishes; and how, therefore, to acknowledge that the words were not exclusively Doddridge's without on the one hand leaving the work open to criticism, and on the other without implying that he, Orton, was responsible for *all* the changes. To Orton, it was important to do all of this while presenting himself as the only editor. Orton claimed he did not want to take the credit from others, saying 'it will be assuming to myself and taking from y^{e} other Gentlemen an Honour y^{t} belongs to them'. Nor did he wish to be assumed to be responsible for changes with which he was unhappy:

> tho there have been, as I observed, no alterations in the Sentim^{t}, there have been some in the Style, especially in y^{t} part I transcribed, & some of them much for the worse, particularly some obscure words put instead of some plain ones – words which no common Reader will understand, & which the Author never used in writing or preaching.[53]

This particular criticism echoes Orton's complaints to Mercy Doddridge that Godwin was making unnecessary changes. Orton also complained that the duties of an editor require that:

[53] Job Orton to Mercy Doddridge, 3 February 1755. DWL MS NCL L.1/8/3. This criticism of Godwin echoes Watts's recommendation to Doddridge that he 'sink' the style of *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*: see *Cal*. 948. Watts expressed relief that Doddridge had been 'perswaded to reduce the Language into easier words and plainer periods': see *Cal*. 963.

> where other of his Friends propose Corrections & Alterations, he must submit to them tho in some Instances, contrary to his Judgm[en]t, or bear the Censure of being self sufficient & conceited.[54]

Orton's personal anxieties about the role of the editor in assessing other contributors' efforts and taking public responsibility for them were expressed in his uncertainty over how to present the work to readers. He wrote, 'If you can direct me how to express myself in a Preface, so as to keep to the Truth, & satisfy y^{e} Publick, I will do w^{t} I can.'[55] Throughout the letter, he avoided explicitly naming the members of the group responsible for the various elements of the final version of *The Family Expositor*. In his discussion of how Doddridge's prose had been shaped, the work of one man slides into that of another and it is not clear who has done what. For example, Orton wrote 'he ought to be y^{e} best judge of the Author's Style Manner and Design', and the indeterminate pronoun is representative of the lack of clarity throughout this part of the letter. These elisions and evasions reflect the problematic nature of the idea that Orton was struggling to articulate: that the final volumes were a collective enterprise but that the aim was to produce a work as close to Doddridge's intentions as possible.

The sixth volume, published in 1756, commences with an 'Advertisement to the Reader by the Editor' signed by Job Orton which begins by quoting from Doddridge's will: 'I desire that it may be transcribed, as far as it goes, by Mr. *Orton*; and that he would add such Notes, as he shall judge most proper, from my written critical Notes'. Orton uses Doddridge's own words to publicly endorse his status as editor.[56] This is punctuated by the date on which Doddridge left the instruction: 'Jan. 1, 1746/7'. Orton then details the work Doddridge had done towards the final three volumes at the time of his death: 'it is therefore incumbent upon me to inform the Subscribers what Progress the *Author* had made in this Work, and what has been done to it since his Death, in Order to

[54] Job Orton to Mercy Doddridge, 3 February 1755. DWL MS NCL L.1/8/3.
[55] Job Orton to Mercy Doddridge, 3 February 1755. DWL MS NCL L.1/8/3.
[56] The 'Advertisement' is dated 21 November 1755. An advertisement in the *Public Advertiser* on 26 January 1756 announces that volumes V and VI 'which complete the Work' will be sent to subscribers on 23 February. An advertisement on 25 February 1756 notes the publication of volumes V and VI and says that complete sets of six volumes can be purchased for four guineas bound.

remove those Suspicions, which often arise concerning the Authenticity of posthumous Works.'[57]

Despite his claim, most of the processes of construction are effaced in Orton's preface. He outlines the approach he took when deciding whether to extend or eliminate certain notes, and describes a group of Doddridge's former students transcribing the work from shorthand, overseen by himself. Yet none of the other editorial participants are acknowledged: all the additional work done to *The Family Expositor* is contained in the figure of Orton. This streamlines the multiple and contested processes of production and does so in accordance with Doddridge's will. A final example of the imperfect reality of the work's construction is introduced in the preface when Orton recounts the anecdote of the manuscript of *The Family Expositor* being burned by a fallen candle in Doddridge's study in June 1750.[58] In his letter to Mercy Doddridge, Orton had questioned whether the story ought be made widely known, wondering 'whether any Thing sh'd be said a^{bt} the Accident w^{ch} happened to some of [the] MSS by Fire'. The way it is mentioned in the 'Advertisement' suggests that the story was already circulating and Orton wished to counter the rumour. Orton is careful to emphasise the providentialism Doddridge associated with the event:

> Being an Eye-witness of the Danger and Deliverance, I record this Account of it, partly for the Satisfaction of the Subscribers with Regard to the exaggerated Report, but Chiefly as it seems to denote a particular Care of Providence in Preserving this Work, and a favourable Omen, that GOD intends it for extensive and lasting Usefulness.[59]

Orton's interpretation of the event situates himself as an eyewitness, consolidating his claim to be a kind of amanuensis to Doddridge even now that he is dead. The 'Advertisement' is a carefully constructed attestation that the author's wishes have been carried out and that *The Family Expositor* is the work of scholarly and devotional utility planned by Doddridge.

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[57] *The Family Expositor*, VI, v.
[58] Doddridge described this event in a letter to Benjamin Fawcett dated 26 June 1750: see *Cal.* 1630. Part of the scorched manuscript survives today: see DWL MS NCL L.143.
[59] *The Family Expositor*, VI, vi-vii.

4. *The Family Expositor* after 1756

The completion of the first edition of *The Family Expositor* in 1756 opened up discussions about how to develop future editions of the work. Mercy Doddridge negotiated, via her agents, with several publishers on matters including printing further impressions of the first two volumes of *The Family Expositor*, developing a version of the work to be published in parts, selling the right to print one edition, and selling the copyright to *all* of Doddridge's works while making specific demands about how the works should be treated. It also opened up the possibility of changing publisher, as Doddridge had done when he moved his business from Richard Hett to James Waugh. By 1756, Waugh had fallen from favour. In 1755, Orton had blamed him for the delay to the publication of volumes V and VI of *The Family Expositor*, saying 'both y^{e} Gentlemen w^{ch} correct y^{e} press complain of M^{r} Waugh's Dilatoriness'.[60] Even before this Samuel Clark had written to say 'I have talked over y^{e} other Affairs you mention'd to me wth M^{r} A[shworth]. He is entirely for y^{e} having as little to do wth W[augh] as possible'.[61] This turned out to be difficult, however, and Mercy Doddridge relied on Ashworth to visit Waugh and go through the accounts. She was given advice on how to deal with Waugh, and initiated discussion about whether or not to offer him further publishing opportunities.[62]

Once the business with Waugh had been concluded, Mercy Doddridge had to decide whether to sell the full copyright to Doddridge's works (which would leave the publisher to shoulder all the financial risk but consequently to benefit from the full profits) or to sell the right to publish an edition while retaining a commercial interest in the production and sale of the books. Ashworth wrote to Mercy Doddridge outlining his preferred course (the first) and contrasting it with Orton's suggestion (the second). While he was careful to unpack the implications of each strategy, Ashworth reaffirmed that everyone's

[60] Job Orton to Mercy Doddridge, 15 September 1755. DWL MS NCL L.1/8/12.
[61] Samuel Clark to Mercy Doddridge, 16 August 1755. DWL MS NCL L.1/5/7.
[62] For an explanation of the intricacies of the stock, sale, and copyright arrangements between Mercy Doddridge and James Waugh, see Tessa Whitehouse, '*The Family Expositor*, the Doddridge Circle and the Booksellers', *The Library*, 7th ser., 11 (2010), 321-44 (329-34).

intentions were the same: to establish 'the most certain way of spreading the Works'.[63]

Ashworth referred to the patent obtained by the booksellers who owned the copyright to Isaac Watts's works, indicating that Mercy Doddridge had asked whether she should obtain a patent. A patent was a publishing industry mechanism for restricting the possibility of works being reprinted without the copyright owner's permission.[64] Taking out a patent, or royal licence, involved making an application to the monarch. If the application was successful, a document was issued (which was often reproduced in copies of the works published under licence) granting 'Our Royal Licence and Protection for the sole Printing, Publishing, and Vending the said Work'.[65] It was a relatively rare procedure at this time, partly for the reason that although a patent was intended to offer extra protection to booksellers who had invested heavily in a work, the term of protection was only the fourteen years already guaranteed by the Statute of Anne of 1710. Shef Rogers suggests that a royal licence increasingly came to be considered of benefit as a 'marketing tool' rather than for any legal protection it offered.[66] This being so, Mercy Doddridge might have considered applying for a patent because a royal licence would grant the work another of the paratextual markers of respectability Doddridge had sought by dedicating the work to the Princess of Wales in 1739. Using Watts as an example suggests that Doddridge's associates saw Watts's posthumous publishing career as comparable to Doddridge's own, and that the dissenters considered using the same publishing mechanisms for very different types of work. Watts's reputation rested on the continued reprinting of cheap editions of sermons, instructive works and hymns rather than expensive large-format works, and his six-volume collected *Works* (edited by Doddridge) was not covered by the patent.[67] The strategy Doddridge's associates took was different: by focusing on the publication of *The Family*

[63] Caleb Ashworth to Mercy Doddridge, 17 January 1759. DWL MS NCL L.1/3/206.
[64] Shef Rogers, 'The Use of Royal Licences for Printing in England, 1695-1760: A Bibliography', *The Library*, 7th ser., 1 (2000), 133-192. Rogers lists a licence issued to James Buckland, James Waugh, John Ward, Thomas Longman, and Edward Dilly 'for the works of Isaac Watts', 11 March 1758 (182).
[65] Licence issued on 13 December 1743 to Thomas Longman, John Shuckburgh, Thomas Osborne, Charles Hitch and Stephen Austen for the third edition of Thomas Salmon's *Modern History* (1744-46) reproduced in Rogers, 'The Use of Royal Licences', 134.
[66] Shef Rogers, 'The Use of Royal Licences', 144.
[67] See Chapter three, sections three and four below.

Expositor in the years immediately following his death, they sought to establish his printed identity using his highest status work. No patent was ever issued for any of Doddridge's works, despite Mercy Doddridge's inquiries about the potential benefits of doing so in letters to Ashworth and William Warburton.

Doddridge's associates did not believe his reputation ought to reside only in expensive publications, and Orton's priority was ensuring that the agreement allowed for flexibility over the form in which a work was published. Orton suggested that Mercy Doddridge should offer Waugh and the dissenting bookseller James Buckland the opportunity to share in the purchase of the copyright, set at £800, and put forward the idea of reissuing *The Family Expositor* 'in small volumes', in keeping with Doddridge's own plans, and presumably to attract less wealthy purchasers.[68] The final decision lay with Mercy Doddridge, and it was not James Buckland, the dissenting bookseller and reliable personal friend recommended by Orton and Ashworth, that she approached. The day after Orton's letter, she drafted a proposal to a very different bookseller: James Rivington.

Today, James Rivington is notorious for his bankruptcies and questionable business practices. In 1759, he would have been known to Mercy Doddridge as the son of Charles Rivington, the respectable Anglican theological bookseller, and as a successful bookseller in his own right.[69] It seems that Rivington approached Mercy Doddridge via an intermediary (the Anglican clergyman Dr James Stonhouse) expressing interest in publishing Doddridge's works.[70] Perhaps Rivington had inquired who owned the copyright, for Mercy Doddridge established her sole ownership of the entire copyright to Doddridge's works from the outset of the negotiations, instructing Stonhouse to tell Rivington 'that the property of Every copy of the Dear Deceas'd Writings is intirely vested

[68] Orton believed there would be 'a Succession of Scholars and Ministers who will chuse the 4° edition', Job Orton to Mercy Doddridge, 10 March 1759. DWL MS NCL L.1/8/32.
[69] See Barbara Laning Fitzpatrick, 'Rivington family (*per. c.*1710–*c.*1960)', *ODNB*.
[70] James Stonhouse, a physician living in Northampton, became an Anglican clergyman in 1754, having been influenced by Doddridge's sermons and personal friendship in the mid-1740s. See Amanda Berry, 'Stonhouse, Sir James (1716-1795)', *ODNB*. His surname was spelled variously as 'Stonhouse' and 'Stonehouse'. John and James Rivington had published Stonhouse's *A Friendly Letter to a Patient* in the later 1740s, and several of Stonhouse's tracts were later published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, of which the Rivingtons were the official booksellers. According to a letter from Rivington dated 27 April 1759, Nathaniel Neal suggested Stonhouse act as a mediator between Rivington and Mercy Doddridge. DWL MS NCL L.63/11. Mercy Doddridge wrote to Job Orton that 'an application had been made to me from a very unexpected quarter', 1 May 1759. NCL MS L.63/12.

in my self'. Mercy Doddridge stated the conditions under which she was prepared to sell to Rivington:

> I am very willing to dispose of my copy right either of ~~all~~ the six volumes of ye Family Expositor alone or of all ye copys together – if I can secure a consideration for ym equal to what either my self or friends think they are worth.

She left open the possibility of selling the copyright to *The Family Expositor* separately. Perhaps, because of its size and complicated mise-en-page, it was the work which most needed a bookseller to take on the responsibility of publication. Mercy Doddridge particularly wished to secure an agreement that Rivington would purchase the physical copies of volumes I and II recently printed by Waugh along with the copyright to *The Family Expositor*.[71]

Mercy Doddridge framed her concern about selling all the copyrights not in terms of hunger for profits, but of anxiety about assuring circulation. She requested that the terms of any agreement include:

> ye further security I had in case I shd part with my copy right that none of ye smaller tracts may be Losd to the world by Lying out of print and that I may have ye Liberty of having what Number I pleas of ye smaller pieces at ye lowest price they are ever Sold to Bookselers – in this I have No view to make any personal advantage of ym to my self only to bear to my self ye right of having ym on as easy ~~te~~ terms as I can in case I shd see fitt at any time to give any Number of ym away.[72]

The situation described here is one in which self-publishing could be more appealing than relinquishing power to a bookseller. If the primary concern was for works to circulate continually and widely, rather than necessarily for profits, the author (or his representative) might prefer to retain the responsibility for publishing a work in order to be free to reprint it as and when he or she wished. Mercy Doddridge understood that one implication of selling the copyright was that a bookseller had no obligation to keep works in print if they were not profitable. She therefore sought to prevent this happening by stipulating that she

[71] 'I shall expect ye person yt purchais my copy right will also purchase all the printed copies of ye several editions Now in Hand'. Mercy Doddridge to James Stonhouse, 1 March 1759. DWL MS NCL L.63/5.
[72] Mercy Doddridge to James Stonhouse, 1 March 1759. DWL MS NCL L.63/5. The MS reads 'losest', which has been corrected to 'lowest' in the transcription above.

wished to be provided with works on demand. She offered all the extant copies of Doddridge's works and the copyright to everything (published and unpublished) to James Rivington for £1200.[73] James Rivington's affirmative reply followed promptly on 9 April 1759 in which he set out his plans to make her four quarterly payments of £300, totalling £1200.[74]

Rivington understood that the market for religious books responded to different trends and influences according to geographical region and the religious sensitivities of the intended audience. His project to maximise the sale of *The Family Expositor* centred on making it simultaneously more appealing to both 'persons of the first Taste' and 'the lower class of churchgoers'. In a letter to Stonhouse of 27 April 1759, Rivington gave more detailed comments on publishing a new edition of *The Family Expositor*. He determined to publish additional copies of each of the final four volumes of *The Family Expositor* so that owners of volumes one and two (which had been reprinted twice) could complete their sets. He also planned to enhance the value of the work by including engraved illustrations of scenes from the life of Christ:

> It will cost me 600£ to engrave the sett & I am resolved upon doing it, for I am confident I can sell five times as many of the Expositor with the help of these plates as I could do without them, for they are so elegant as to engage the admiration of persons of the first Taste consequently they will not fail of operating successfully upon the lower class of purchasers.[75]

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[73] Mercy Doddridge to James Rivington, 6 April 1759. DWL MS NCL L.63/8. Perhaps partly as an incentive to Rivington to keep the 'smaller tracts' in print, Mercy Doddridge included the unpublished manuscript to Doddridge's *A Course of Lectures* in the bundle of copyrights for sale, asserting that 'in your Hands ye copy of ye hymns and Lectures alone will soon repay you ye sum I have asked for whole'. The sum was double that suggested by William Warburton: 'I think it would be a better bargain than 650 *l.* for all the printed Copies & the whole copy right together. As Dr Doddridge's works are chiefly practical, the copy right must be worth something considerable', William Warburton to Mercy Doddridge, 8 May 1759. *Pope's Literary Legacy: The Book-Trade Correspondence of William Warburton and John Knapton with other Letters and Documents 1744-1780*, ed. Donald W. Nichol (Oxford, 1992), 130. The letter is dated after Mercy Doddridge's negotiations with Rivington; perhaps she had hoped to receive Warburton's advice sooner.

[74] James Rivington to Mercy Doddridge, 9 April 1759. DWL MS NCL L.63/10.

[75] James Rivington to Mercy Doddridge, 9 April 1759. DWL MS NCL L.63/10. Extant volumes of the 1761-62 edition of *The Family Expositor* contain images, with more than seventy plates distributed through the first three volumes. The £600 cost of commissioning the images appears plausible given the prices cited by Tim Clayton, 'Book Illustration and the World of Prints', *CHBB*, V, 230-47 (236).

Another strategy for maximising the sale of the work was to publish it with a recommendation from the popular evangelical writer James Hervey in Scotland and New England 'as all the religious in those Countries are great admirers of M[r] Hervey' and his recommendations had advanced the sales of other religious authors.[76] Rivington also proposed to issue the work in weekly parts to make it affordable.[77] As part of his comprehensive marketing strategy for developing the reach of the work, he claimed he would:

> have four or five hundred thousand proposalls published directed & dispersed with the utmost diligence in every part where Our Language is known & on some Saturday Evening before the first Number appears I shall procure proper persons in Every City town Village &c to put one of the Proposals in every pew in each Church and Meeting of protestant Dissenters in these several Kingdoms.[78]

The scale of his ambition for the work was matched by his boldness in targeting places of religious worship as advertising spaces.

Rivington may have been similarly audacious in other promotion methods. Although lists of subscribers did not appear in the printed volumes of the 1760-61 edition of *The Family Expositor*, correspondence between Samuel Richardson and Mark Hildesley (Bishop of Sodor and Man, and a correspondent of Doddridge) suggests that the lists were published separately in order to promote the work. Hildesley wrote that 'seeing two such respectable names as Dr. Young's and Mr S. Richardson's, among the subscribers to Dr. Doddridge's *Family Expositor*, inclines me to hope that work commands some share of your approbation and esteem'.[79] Richardson replied, however:

> I cannot say that I have read the Expositor. I have been exceedingly ill in what I may call the paralytic way . . . and had not given directions to the

[76] James Rivington to Mercy Doddridge, 9 April 1759. DWL MS NCL L.63/10. James Hervey was an evangelical Church of England clergyman who described himself as a moderate Calvinist and enjoyed a successful literary career. See Isabel Rivers, 'Hervey, James (1714–1758)', *ODNB*.
[77] The work was issued in 155 weekly parts. It was also published in six volumes in Edinburgh (1772) and the same edition with a new title page was sold in South Carolina (1773). See James N. Green, 'English Books and Printing in the Age of Franklin' in *A History of the Book in America: The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World* ed. Hugh Amory and David D. Hall (Cambridge, 2000), 248-98.
[78] James Rivington to James Stonhouse, 27 April 1759. DWL MS NCL L.63/11.
[79] Mark Hildesley to Samuel Richardson, 26 August 1760. *The Correspondence of Samuel Richardson*, ed. Anna Laetitia Barbauld, 6 vols. (London, 1804), V, 135. 'Dr. Young' was the poet Edward Young.

> proprietors of the work, to put me down as a subscriber to it. It was a spontaneous act of their own: and so (for ought I know) it is with regard to our Welwyn friend; for though I know that Dr. Young greatly respected Dr. Doddridge, for some of his former writings, I never heard him mention this. But your high opinion of it, will not suffer me, for my part, to be long without it.[80]

Richardson's mild response notwithstanding, these remarks suggest that Rivington's advertising tactics may have included subterfuge.

The ways in which Rivington promoted *The Family Expositor* certainly met with opposition from Doddridge's own supporters. Some months after Rivington described his plans to Stonhouse, Caleb Ashworth wrote Mercy Doddridge a long letter beginning with a detailed description of how James Rivington had been publicising the planned reprinting of *The Family Expositor*. Ashworth was clearly concerned that James Rivington's aggressive marketing strategies would do *The Family Expositor*, and the dissenting cause, a disservice. He wrote: 'If there is any thing will lessen the Credit of F.E. 'tis in my opinion the zeal with which it is pressed'. From Ashworth's description, it seems the plans Rivington described to Stonhouse were no exaggeration. Ashworth anxiously reported that posters soliciting subscriptions had been indiscriminately 'pasted up on sign posts, Town pumps, & Barbers shops'. Rather than attacking Rivington, Ashworth chose to emphasise that while he agreed with Rivington's opinion that *The Family Expositor* was so important a work that it deserved to be widely promoted, he considered the responsibility for instituting a personal, focused and carefully-planned marketing strategy to lie with dissenters. 'I really think if M^{r} R[ivington] is not assisted in urging the Subscription,' he wrote, 'he will alone take as vigorous methods to spread it as are consistent with the Credit of the work.'[81] Ashworth made a distinction between being involved in the content of the work itself and in the methods of promotion of this new edition, and expressed reservations about the methods currently being used when he wrote 'if any Dissenter be suspected of having had a hand in it, I think it w^{d}. somewhat prejudice the Church against it'. He concluded his opinion by drawing a distinction between the conduct expected of a bookseller and the social scrutiny

[80] Samuel Richardson to Mark Hildesley, 10 September 1760. *The Correspondence of Samuel Richardson*, V, 138-9. No subscriber lists naming Richardson or Young have been located.
[81] Caleb Ashworth to Mercy Doddridge, 12 December 1759. DWL MS NCL L.63/14.

under which dissenters operated, observing that 'a Bookseller may take a variety of ways to forward the Sale of a Book without any reflexion, because it is known to be his Interest and his Business; But others are very apt to be suspected of party, how good soever their motives may be'.[82] Even though Doddridge's project – particularly in *The Family Expositor* – was avowedly cross-denominational, Ashworth was anxious not to provoke negative responses from members of the establishment. He considered that the dissenters would be held accountable for any perceived lack of propriety in the way *The Family Expositor* was promoted – on 'every pew' of Anglican churches, for example, or by inventing famous subscribers – and his concern indicates that concern over dissenters' social status persisted in some quarters even after Toleration, and even at times of no particular political unrest.[83]

These observations from Caleb Ashworth register a negative side to Mercy Doddridge's decision to take Doddridge's works to a bookseller who was both from the Church of England and from a well known bookselling family. Rivington had offered a convincing and inviting marketing programme for the new edition of *The Family Expositor*, promising editions in Scotland and America as well as England, which suited Mercy Doddridge's purpose of spreading Doddridge's works widely. Perhaps she had hoped that Rivington's involvement would disseminate Doddridge's works among a new audience of readers who frequented his bookshop in Paternoster Row. Yet the reality was that his marketing strategies were distastefully aggressive, did not consider the nature of the work, and put its reputation (and by association, that of the dissenters) at risk.

Even more dangerous to the success of *The Family Expositor* were Rivington's dubious business practices and his shaky financial position. Rivington had grown up apprenticed to his father Charles, and had been in partnership with his brother John until 1756. Upon the formal dissolution of this partnership (the formality of which indicates a serious disagreement), he worked

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[82] Caleb Ashworth to Mercy Doddridge, 12 December 1759. DWL MS NCL L.63/14.

[83] As John Smail observes with reference to an earlier period, anxieties regarding religious and political differences were not only a question of high politics, but of local experience. See John Smail, 'Religion, Culture and Politics in Oliver Heywood's Halifax', in *Protestant Identities: Religion, Society, and Self-Fashioning in Post-Reformation England*, ed. Muriel C. McClendon, Joseph P. Ward and Michael MacDonald (Stanford, 1999), 234-48.

with James Fletcher junior, a bookseller in Oxford. Most of their output was legitimate publishing, but Rivington also pirated the books of other London booksellers for the growing American market. In 1757, prior to any dealings with Mercy Doddridge, he had orchestrated a complicated sale of copyrights. The London book trade sought redress for the business they lost as a result of his underhand dealings. They brought injunctions against him, which resulted in the dissolution of his partnership with Fletcher in January 1760 and the sale of their stock on 3 April 1760, at which other booksellers purchased his stock and shares in the copyrights he owned.[84] Thomas Longman's annotated copy of the sale catalogue notes that the sale made just over £3500, and that the wholesaler William Johnston purchased all the shares of Doddridge's works, divided into eight lots, for £1200.[85] Not only did the £1200 bid for Doddridge's works and copyright constitute almost a third of the money generated by the sale, but it matched exactly the amount Mercy Doddridge had requested when selling the copyright.

James Rivington's bankruptcy delayed the publication of the new edition of *The Family Expositor* and resulted in its copyright entering the open market, and coming to be owned by an increasingly disparate group of booksellers.[86] Whether Mercy Doddridge received all of the promised £1200 from Rivington, and, if not, whether the booksellers who purchased the copyrights to Doddridge's works honoured that agreement, is not known. *The Family Expositor* was regularly republished, and retained the same six-volume quarto format in all the

[84] For an account of James Rivington's business practice and in particular a summary of the events surrounding his bankruptcy, see Fitzpatrick, 'Rivington family (*per. c.*1710–*c.*1960)', *ODNB*; Patricia Hernlund, 'Three Bankruptcies in the London Book Trade, 1746-61: Rivington, Knapton, and Osborn', in *Writers, Books and Trade: An Eighteenth Century English Miscellany for William B. Todd*, ed. O M Brack Jr. (New York, 1993), 77-122. For a clear outline of James Rivington's practices in America, how they made him money, and why they enraged the London booksellers, see Green, 'English Books and Printing in the Age of Franklin', 279-83.

[85] *A Catalogue of Copies, and Shares of Copies, of Messrs. James Rivington and James Fletcher* is catalogue 101 in the BL collection of Longman's trade sale catalogues, shelfmark Cup.407.e.6. Johnston is described as 'the prominent wholesaler' by Terry Belanger in 'Booksellers' Sales of Copyright: Aspects of the London Book Trade 1718-1768' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1970), 135. Caleb Ashworth, in London to gather information, reported to Mercy Doddridge: 'He intends to sell shares of it to some other Booksellers, M^{r} Buckland intends to have a share – I hear that M^{r} Waugh is not to have'. Caleb Ashworth to Mercy Doddridge, 4 July 1760. DWL MS NCL L.1/3/212.

[86] The publication in parts initiated by Rivington continued with little delay, perhaps because the bookseller Henry Payne had been involved in the project before Rivington's bankruptcy and retained or renewed his financial interest in the serial publication of *The Family Expositor* after the sale.

eighteenth-century editions. It is notable that Mercy Doddridge's association with the publication is recorded on the title pages of editions published after the sale of James Rivington's property, when in fact she had no official connection with the booksellers or the edition. These volumes were advertised as being published 'by Assignment to the Author's widow'.[87] Though Doddridge's widow and her associates had relinquished control over the copyright to his works, the booksellers saw that much of the power of Doddridge's image derived from his place in the dissenting community, and the works themselves attest to the strength of that community. Mercy Doddridge and Job Orton were especially certain about what they wanted the publication of *The Family Expositor* to achieve: it was to present Doddridge, and through him dissent more generally, as learned, polite and pious. Having carried out Doddridge's wishes – overcoming personal disagreements, social anxieties and bankruptcy along the way – they turned their attention to his academy lectures.

5. Publishing Doddridge's academy lectures

In spring 1763, Doddridge's *A Course of Lectures on the Principal Subjects in Pneumatology, Ethics and Divinity* was published in a single quarto volume priced at sixteen shillings.[88] Compared to the price of *The Family Expositor*, which varied between a guinea per volume and four guineas for all six, this book was relatively affordable, though probably beyond the means of students. The work represented the first, and definitive, published appearance of Doddridge's method of teaching and appeared at a time when few similar editions of theology lectures were being published.[89] Like *The Family Expositor*, its publication came

[87] An 'Assignment' was a document that signed over a property (in this case, literary property) and any profits arising from the future sale of it, from one party to another. Collections of these survive: see BL Add. MSS 38,728-30. By claiming that the work was published by assignment from Mercy Doddridge, the booksellers who purchased Doddridge's copyrights after Rivington's bankruptcy eliminated Rivington and replaced him with a direct connection between themselves and Doddridge's family.

[88] The work was advertised as priced at 'sixteen shillings in sheets' in the *London Chronicle* and *Public Advertiser* on 28 April 1763, though a handwritten note on the title page of a copy of the 1776 edition says it cost sixteen shillings bound: see BL, shelfmark 1601/9.

[89] When information about theological courses was published, it tended to be in the form of 'heads', such as Edward Bentham, *Reflexions upon the Study of Divinity. To which are Subjoined Heads of a Course of Lectures* (Oxford, 1771) and John Hey, *Heads of a Course of Lectures in Divinity* (Cambridge, 1783). Hey was Norrisian Professor of Divinity at the University of Cambridge, and over a decade after he delivered them, his lectures were published in full as

as a result of instructions in Doddridge's will, in which he appointed Job Orton to oversee the preparation of the manuscript, named Waugh as the publisher, and suggested that the work be issued in two quarto volumes. He specified that 'if the Theological Lectures be printed as I am very willing they should it may be done in a handsome manner and for the benefit of my ffamily.'[90] His request was not met for some time; it was not until twelve years after his death that *A Course of Lectures* was published, edited not by Orton, as the will anticipated, but by his former student and assistant tutor Samuel Clark.

Mercy Doddridge's correspondence casts some light on the reasons for the delays to the publication of what Job Orton characterised as Doddridge's 'capital posthumous work' and also reveals how Doddridge's network of successors conceived his academy lectures as fitting into the project of publishing his works in order to consolidate his posthumous reputation.[91] *A Course of Lectures* had three distinct printed appearances in England and one in France in addition to the various manuscript copies in longhand and shorthand that continued to be transcribed and circulated in the century after Doddridge's death. The first edition (1763) was reprinted in 1776 in the same single quarto volume format. In 1794, Andrew Kippis's edition was published in two octavo volumes priced fifteen shillings in 'common paper' and one guinea in 'fine paper'.[92] This edition was reprinted in 1799. In the nineteenth century, the lectures appeared in volumes four and five of Williams's and Parsons's edition of Doddridge's complete works, and were published separately for the last time in 1822.[93]

During the years between 1752 and 1756 when Mercy Doddridge, Job Orton, Caleb Ashworth and Samuel Clark were all preoccupied with the

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Lectures in Divinity, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1796-98). The situation in Scotland was different: Francis Hutcheson, professor of moral philosophy at Glasgow University, had Latin textbooks printed in his lifetime, though he insisted these were intended for student use only. See James Moore, 'Hutcheson, Francis (1694–1746)', *ODNB*. Some dissenters' courses were published, such as Henry Grove, *A System of Moral Philosophy*, ed. T. Amory, 2 vols. (London, 1749) but none in the same format as Doddridge's, or with the same longevity in print.

[90] TNA: PRO PROB 11/791 sig. 332.

[91] Job Orton to Mercy Doddridge, 18 August 1762. DWL MS NCL L.1/8/45.

[92] The price is given in the review of the work in the *Critical Review*, 12 (1794), 303-12. In the list of Kippis's works appended to Abraham Rees's funeral sermon, the price is given as thirteen shillings. Abraham Rees, *A Sermon Preached . . . Upon Occasion of the Much Lamented Death of the Rev. Andrew Kippis* (London, 1795), 'List of works', item XXV.

[93] For a detailed chronology of the editions and a close study of the differences between the various editions of *A Course of Lectures*, see Rivers, *The Defence of Truth Through the Knowledge of Error*, 18-26.

preparation and publication of *The Family Expositor*, no mention of *A Course of Lectures* was made in their correspondence other than a reference to a manuscript copy of the text. In 1755, Clark reassured Mercy Doddridge that 'Yesterd. M^{r} A[shworth] found y^{e} Vol. of Lectures y^{t} was missing, & will take y^{e} proper measures for getting them transcribed im[m]ediately'.[94] Mercy Doddridge possessed a longhand copy in 1759, which she offered to James Rivington as part of their deal. The longhand manuscript of the lectures was regarded as a valuable item, and perhaps thought of as the source for a future publication, but if it survives it has not been found.

In 1759, during her negotiations with James Rivington, Mercy Doddridge presented the lectures as a tempting commercial proposition by describing current interest in the lectures from 'the principle persons of the y^{e} colldge of new Jersey' and 'a gentleman of considerable rank in Swi~~sstzert~~zer'.[95] In laying out her terms for the sale of the manuscript, she declared a preference she declared, to sell the manuscript and rights to publish to Rivington. Rather than retaining the rights to the edition and funding the publication through subscriptions, she offered the copyright of the edition for sale.[96] This suggests that by 1759 she had decided that the lectures should be published as soon as possible, for one benefit of selling the copyright was the greater likelihood of swift publication. Once a bookseller had paid for a work it was in his financial interest to publish it as soon as possible so that he could begin to recoup his

[94] Samuel Clark to Mercy Doddridge, 23 April 1755. DWL MS NCL L.1/5/4. Clark's intention to get the lectures 'transcribed' was probably from shorthand into longhand, as Orton had done with the manuscript of *The Family Expositor*.

[95] Mercy Doddridge to James Rivington, 6 April 1759. DWL MS NCL L.63/8. A nineteenth-century biographer of Doddridge claimed 'In the correspondence of Mrs. Doddridge with Mr. Orton there are references to a project by a Swiss gentleman, for translating her husband's hymns into French', but these letters cannot now be found: see Stoughton, *Philip Doddridge: His Life and Labours*, 208. The identity of the Swiss gentleman cannot be traced. Doddridge corresponded with Aaron Burr, the second President of New Jersey College from 1748 to 1757, and Burr was always fulsome in his praise of Doddridge's academy and sought his advice on how to lecture on certain subjects. See Chapter one, section five above and John B. Frantz, 'Burr, Aaron (1716–1757)', *ODNB*.

[96] Regarding the lectures, William Warburton advised her: 'I much suspect (considering the didactic and severe nature of such kind of compositions) that if you published them at your own expense you would hardly be a saver; if a Bookseller would undertake it at his, you would scarce be a gainer. I should therefore propose (if you think you lye under obligations to give them to the public), that they be printed by subscription.' William Warburton to Mercy Doddridge, 8 May 1759. Nichol, *Pope's Literary Legacy*, 130. Ashworth calculated that the value of Doddridge's literary property excluding the lectures was £1106 3d. The terms Mercy Doddridge proposed, and which Rivington accepted, were first set out by Caleb Ashworth in DWL MS NCL L.63/7. She asked for £1200 for the complete property, suggesting that the copyright of *A Course of Lectures* was valued at £94.

investment, whereas subscription publishing was typically slowed down by the need to gather a certain number of subscribers before printing could commence. Rivington reassured her that 'The Lectures shall be printed in A handsome manner in Quarto agreably to the will of the Author if they should fall into my Hands'.[97] Meanwhile, he wrote to Mercy Doddridge's agent, Stonhouse, about the mechanics of publishing the lectures, identifying Job Orton as the most suitable person to oversee the publication:

> If my offers are accepted I shall be glad to know it as soon as possible & immediately to have the Manuscript of the Acad[emy] Lectures . . . put to press for I would print the Lectures by Michaelmas if possible. But could I procure the Rev^{d} M^{r} Orton to assist in the publication? I am an utter stranger to his Character & therefore cannot presume precipitately to treat him as an hireling by offering him a Sum for his trouble.[98]

Mercy Doddridge wrote to Orton suggesting that he and 'M^{r} C' (presumably Clark) should work together 'to fit them for y^{e} Publick'. In the event, it was Samuel Clark who was credited as editor in the published volume. In December 1759, he commented:

> [The publication of *The Family Expositor*] has engross'd Riv.[ington]'s Attent^{n}. so much y^{t}. y^{e} Lect[ures] have been for some time at a stand. He has several Sheets of y^{e} Copy in his hands: but I have as yet rec^{d} but one from y^{e} Press, tho' that indeed has been printed off 2 or 3 times in order to correct some errors I observ'd in y^{e} 1st Impress – However I sh^{d} be glad to receive y^{e} Remainder of y^{e} Copy in y^{r} hands, as soon as you can conveniently send it.[99]

It seems that preparing *A Course of Lectures* for the press involved not only checking the proofs, but seeking information on the publication schedule and conveying it to Mercy Doddridge. Clark wrote to her in November 1760:

> As to y^{e} Lectures, w$^{<ch>}$ you enquire about, I can give you no other informat^{n}. than this; that M^{r} Buckl[an]^{d}. (who I supose you know was to have a share in y^{e} Copies) told me, ~~he had~~ w^{n}. I was in town, that he had then heard nothing a^{bt}. them, but expected ~~soon~~ they w^{d}. ~~hav~~ soon have a

[97] James Rivington to Mercy Doddridge, 9 April 1759. DWL MS NCL L.63/10.
[98] James Rivington to James Stonhouse, 9 April 1759. DWL MS NCL L.63/9.
[99] Samuel Clark to Mercy Doddridge, 10 December 1759. DWL MS NCL L.1/5/25. The MS reads 'at as stand', which has been corrected to 'at a stand' in the transcription above.

> meeting to settle their affairs, when he suppos'd this w^{d}. be determin'd. Since that I have heard nothing at all. I have all y^{e} Copy except the 1st Part, w^{ch}. I sent to Rivingt[on]. before his Bankruptcy.[100]

James Rivington's bankruptcy delayed publication and occasioned the loss of part of the text. Any involvement James Rivington had had with the work is nowhere to be seen in the published work. Like the post-bankruptcy editions of *The Family Expositor*, *A Course of Lectures* advertises the direct association between its booksellers and Doddridge's family.

6. *A Course of Lectures*: editorial statements and presentation of material

While the interactions among Doddridge's associates and between them and booksellers were complicated and often fraught during the process of publishing *The Family Expositor*, the public utility of the work itself was never in doubt. This was not the case with Doddridge's academy lectures. None of Doddridge's teaching materials had appeared in print in the form of lectures before, and the question of who they were for and what publication was intended to achieve was to preoccupy successive editors. In the case of *A Course of Lectures*, the central question was how to define Doddridge as the author of a printed edition of lectures which were still the basis of theological education at various academies. As Chapter one demonstrated, Doddridge had always insisted that the structure of the lectures encouraged their adaptation, and their flexibility was integral to their ongoing use in academies. Printing the lectures introduced them to an audience beyond dissenting academies, unfamiliar with and possibly hostile towards Doddridge's methods which had not, after all, found universal favour within dissent. Establishing Doddridge as the author of the course meant publicly identifying him with a particular method of theological education. Different editors took different positions on the extent to which Doddridge's method of adaptation constituted an integral part of his work, and how the printed lectures should be used.

[100] Samuel Clark to Mercy Doddridge, 5 November 1760. DWL MS NCL L.1/5/36.

Samuel Clark's 'Advertisement' opens each of the eighteenth-century English printed editions of *A Course of Lectures* and commences with the explanation that:

> This work was originally drawn up for the use of the students under the Author's care; but it appears by a clause in his will, that it was his intention it should be published after his decease.[101]

The original context of the lecture room at Northampton academy, and Doddridge's own directions that the work should be published, provide the dual frame in which the publication of these lectures should be understood. Clark's two preoccupations in the 'Advertisement' are with defending the propriety of the enterprise and establishing its purpose. He balances conventional assurances of fidelity to the source materials ('I have carefully compared [the transcript] with the original short-hand copy') with declarations that the work is new and important. He does this by emphasising that, while the mathematical method came originally from Jennings, Doddridge extended and refined the content of the course to such a degree that 'the whole may properly be considered as a new work'.[102]

The fact that Clark says that Doddridge used Jennings's lectures as his source but modified them as he saw fit indicates that he wished to emphasise the key feature of the scheme: that its structure permitted additions and alterations. By including this information, Clark provides an implicit justification for his own procedure of adapting existing materials: his approach was in keeping with the origins of the course and he is following Doddridge's own practice.[103] In this way the published *Course of Lectures* becomes a location for Doddridge's ideas and, as importantly, a showcase for his method. Yet while Clark acknowledges the originality of Doddridge's scheme, he is careful to reassure the reader that his version of Doddridge's course is a faithful one. 'The public may be assured, that the Author's sentiments have been everywhere scrupulously preserved' and only

[101] *A Course of Lectures* (1763), sig. A2.
[102] *A Course of Lectures* (1763), sig. A2v. This echoes the presentation of Jennings's and Doddridge's methods outlined in Chapter one, section two above.
[103] It also indicates Clark anticipated that the majority of readers of this printed edition would have no idea about the development of Doddridge's method.

'a few references have been added', Clark wrote.[104] He does not say what these are. Nor does he explain that successive tutors have adapted Doddridge's course, or that a modified version of the course is currently in use at Daventry and elsewhere. This work may have been published primarily for participants in the dissenting educational world, but given that many of them had access to manuscript copies, it seems likely that part of the reason for publishing the lectures was to broadcast the extent of dissenting learning to a world beyond the dissenting academies.

The title page of the 1794 two-volume edition generates the sense – conventional for a new edition – that the work is a refreshed version of the course by specifying that it contains additional references 'from writers who have appeared since the doctor's decease'. This expression of improvement is heightened by the use of terms of abundance: 'added', 'a great number of references', with 'many' notes on 'various' writers. The editor of this edition was Andrew Kippis, another former student of Doddridge's academy. He uses the flexible form of the lectures to add to the references and insert new ideas, and uses this as a way of promoting a new, expanded edition of the lectures. He explains that adding references follows Doddridge's own practice, thereby drawing on Doddridge's authority and reputation to legitimate the project. The form of the lectures means that supplementing them enacts fidelity to the author's ideas in a way that was not possible with *The Family Expositor*.

The recurring themes of the prefaces to the 1763 and 1794 editions are the richness and variety of the references the work contains and the fact that it conforms to Doddridge's intentions. There is a difference in the intensity of claims for newness, however: Clark says merely that 'a few references have been added particularly to some books published since the Author's death', while Kippis emphasises in stronger terms that his edition augments what has gone before. He says that the changes to the course 'will be particularly apparent to any one who shall take the trouble of comparing the catalogue of authors inserted at the end of the present work with that which is given in the former editions'.[105] Clark and Kippis borrow Doddridge's claims for John

[104] *A Course of Lectures* (1763), sig. A2. Rivers thinks it possible that Clark added the reference to David Hume: see Rivers, *The Defence of Truth Through the Knowledge of Error*, 19.
[105] *A Course of Lectures* (1763), sig. A2, *A Course of Lectures* (1794), I, sig. a3v.

Jennings's method from the 1720s, and in their presentation of Doddridge imitate his own manoeuvre of presenting a dissenting tutor to a reading audience not personally acquainted with the composer of the course.[106]

Neither Clark nor Kippis was a theological tutor, and neither worked in an academy at the time their edition of Doddridge's lectures was published. Clark had been Doddridge's assistant tutor, and led Northampton academy during Doddridge's final illness and before the removal of the academy to Daventry in 1752. His final experience of academy teaching ended almost a decade before the publication of *A Course of Lectures*, and he had not taught theology at Daventry. Kippis had been tutor of rhetoric and *belles lettres* at Hoxton academy from 1764 to 1784, and at New College Hackney between 1786 and 1791. He also lectured on history and chronology. Samuel Morton Savage (the divinity tutor at Hoxton academy) used Doddridge's lectures in his own teaching, and Kippis incorporated some of his former colleague's additional references into his edition of the work.[107] By doing so, he demonstrated that Doddridge's method and materials had been in use at orthodox academies in the decades after Doddridge's death.

Kippis's involvement in both of these publications as well as being editor of *A Course of Lectures* suggests that keeping Doddridge's memory alive using print was an important project for him.[108] He was the editor of the second edition of the *Biographia Britannica* (1778-95).[109] Volume five (1795) included a biography of Doddridge, written by Kippis, which had previously appeared at the beginning of the seventh edition of *The Family Expositor* (1792). Kippis certainly believed a key function of the *Biographia Britannica* was to record the notable publications of its subjects:

> it is part of our plan to give copious accounts of the writings of learned men, if they have been in any degree eminent. This is the only way of doing them that full justice, to which, by their merits, they are entitled.

[106] See Chapter one, section one above and 'Dissenting Education and the Legacy of John Jennings c.1720-c.1729', ed. Whitehouse.
[107] *A Course of Lectures* (1794), I, sig. a 3v. There is no surviving evidence for this beyond the printed text of *A Course of Lectures* itself. For Savage's career, see John Handby Thompson, 'Savage, Samuel Morton (1721–1791)', *ODNB*.
[108] In this respect, Kippis can be seen as a successor to Orton. The two men are representative of the different paths taken by those who had experienced Doddridge theological education: Orton remained theologically orthodox while Kippis embraced rational dissent.
[109] See Chapter four, section three below.

> From the accumulation of new books, and the revolutions of literary fashion, even works of no small reputation come to be neglected.[110]

By publishing *A Course of Lectures*, Kippis is attempting to do Doddridge 'that full justice' of having his work remembered. He is doing more than preserving a record of a work 'of no small reputation' however: by adding new references to the work he is using Doddridge's work as a vehicle for his own contribution to the contemporary study of ethics and theology.

Kippis emphasised the value of updating Doddridge's course in his biography, saying: 'it would be extremely useful to enlarge the list of references, by introducing the names and productions of those writers who have treated upon the several matters in question since the Doctor's decease'.[111] In his preface to *A Course of Lectures*, he states that this edition contains too many references for it to be possible for a student to consult them all, and that there is so much new material that it should not be considered as Doddridge's alone. He hints that the augmented nature of the course might lead to tensions in the text, saying 'it is no part of my design . . . either to confirm or gainsay the opinions of Dr Doddridge'.[112] This leaves open the possibility that his new edition, in adapting and extending ideas from Doddridge's course, might introduce positions with which Doddridge would have disagreed.[113] Kippis marks his additions within the text so that readers can see what is Doddridge's and what is new, and he uses the preface to explain his understanding of the work and to characterise the nature of the material he has added. He writes, for example, that 'I have added at the bottom of the page, many notes of reference'.[114] Kippis was associated with New College Hackney, which had a reputation for admitting students of any religion and welcoming heterodoxy. His editorship of *A Course of Lectures* indicates a connection between Doddridge's pedagogy and liberality

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[110] *Biographia Britannica*, IV, sig. b.
[111] *Biographia Britannica*, V, 301.
[112] *A Course of Lectures* (1794), I, sig. a4.
[113] For example, in part VII ('The existence and nature of GOD, and the divinity of the SON and SPIRIT') Kippis adds substantially to the references to proposition 128 'God is so *united* to the derived nature of Christ . . . that . . . Christ may properly be called *God*', which he introduces with the observation 'Since these lectures were written, the question concerning the Divinity of our Lord has afforded matter for repeated, and almost perpetual discussion', *A Course of Lectures* (1794), II, 170-6.
[114] *A Course of Lectures* (1794), I, sig. a4. See Rivers, *The Defence of Truth Through the Knowledge of Error* (2003), 21-2. Kippis does not announce whether he has removed references.

of thought and the educational and intellectual practices of heterodox dissenters, though Kippis himself is careful to distinguish between Doddridge's course and his own contributions in order to make it clear that Doddridge himself was theologically orthodox.

Kippis's ideas about the purpose of the course diverge from Doddridge's. Like Doddridge, he envisions the work being used as a repository of references for 'future enquiries' to which students can turn even after they have competed their academic studies. But for Kippis, unlike Doddridge, it is not necessary to follow up each reference:

> It is not to be expected that in their state of pupilage they should be able to pay a due attention to one half of the books here specified . . . it may be of great importance to know where hereafter to apply for fresh stores of knowledge.[115]

The work can also function as a resource for tutors, many of whom might well have been students of the course themselves. To them, he addresses the remark that, 'It is the business of individual tutors to enlarge upon the Lectures in that way which accords with their own sentiments.'[116] In his edition which does precisely this, Kippis provides a model of the way in which Doddridge's lectures could be used by later tutors: as a structure to which tutors could add their own references, and as a repository of sources. Kippis presents the edition as following Doddridge's method and supplementing his content. His edition does the latter more extensively than tutors who actually taught the course, as the examples in Chapter one showed.

Samuel Clark insisted that despite any changes, this course *is* Doddridge's, and one of the elements that makes it so is its flexible, evolving form. In a development of this point, Kippis names the other tutors who have provided references and in so doing emphasises that this edition is a collective endeavour, created out of the work of tutors at academies with different denominational biases. He notes that additional references have been supplied by Benjamin Edwards's copy of Samuel Morton Savage's notes at Hoxton and by James Mannings's copy of Samuel Merivale's lectures given at Exeter

[115] *A Course of Lectures* (1794), I, sig. a4.
[116] *A Course of Lectures* (1794), I, sig. a4.

Presbyterian Academy between 1761 and 1771. The shared endeavour that Job Orton concealed from the readers of *The Family Expositor* is highlighted and even celebrated in the paratexts and references of *A Course of Lectures*.

Edward Williams and Edward Parsons, two Congregational ministers who edited Doddridge's *Works* at the beginning of the nineteenth century, were the first editors of Doddridge not to have known him personally. They thought Kippis had gone too far.[117] In their 'Advertisement' to the third English version of *A Course of Lectures*, published in volumes four and five of the *Works*, they distance Kippis's edition from Doddridge's lectures. Because Clark's version is closer to Doddridge's own course, they base their edition on his, rather than Kippis's, but alter the layout:

> All the *references* contained in the first edition are preserved; but at the bottom of the page, as much more pleasant to the eye . . . To these are now added many others, some of which are taken from Dr. KIPPIS's edition, in the form of *notes*.[118]

Williams, who was responsible for revising the lectures, sought to lessen Kippis's visible influence on the text as the starting point for his own work of changing its form and adding new references.[119] Many of Kippis's references are erased, and his introduction is pruned so that only three paragraphs of his comments on *A Course of Lectures* are retained.

Where Williams does include some of Kippis's additions, they are relegated to one source among many for additional references. Throughout the text, Williams attributes added references to whichever tutor was responsible for them: 'The notes . . . are marked by the initials of their authors respectively, DODDRIDGE, CLARK, SAVAGE and KIPPIS'.[120] Presenting the references 'at the bottom of the page' separates the references (both Doddridge's and those of other tutors) from Doddridge's own words, thereby changing the emphasis of the

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[117] See J. E. Lloyd, 'Williams, Edward (1750–1813)', rev. S. J. Skedd, and Bertha Porter, 'Parsons, Edward (1762–1833)', rev. J. M. V. Quinn, *ODNB*.
[118] Doddridge, *Works*, IV, 281.
[119] Williams was the theological tutor at the dissenting academy at Oswestry between 1781 and 1792, and at Rotherham between 1795 and 1813. While he was editing *A Course of Lectures*, he was working as a theological tutor. His own lectures were very different to Doddridge's: see Edward Williams, *A Syllabus of Lectures on the Most Important Subjects in Theology* (Rotherham, 1812).
[120] Doddridge, *Works*, IV, 283. Williams's own additions are marked 'W'.

course. The references are no longer central to the conduct of the lectures, but are supplementary materials.

In the *Works*, the lectures were divided across two volumes and appeared in the middle of all Doddridge's other works, indicating that Williams and Parsons did not think the 'Course of Lectures' in the *Works* would be readily adopted for lecture room use. This version of the lectures represents the final stage in the use of Doddridge's lectures. Originally the core theological education at his own dissenting academy and its successor, Doddridge's lectures continued to be adapted by tutors in academies after their publication, and the printed edition of the lectures began to be used as one source referred to by tutors alongside others. Students made copies of the lectures as a repository of materials to which they could refer throughout their careers as ministers, and printing the lectures consolidated their purpose as a work of reference.[121]

Doddridge's 'Introduction' is included in all editions. It explains the content and sequence of the course and also the method to follow: to look up the references as soon as possible after the lecture or, in the case of the printed text, immediately after reading the lecture. In Clark's edition, a footnote to the heading 'Introduction' explains it is:

> to be considered as the Author's address to his own pupils, when they entered upon this course of Lectures, which will shew the propriety of some of the directions, which might otherwise appear too particular and minute.[122]

Clark emphasises that publishing Doddridge's 'Introduction' presents the guiding principles through the course in his own words, while acknowledging that this does not necessarily conform to expectations for published prose. Doddridge's editors were relocating his course to a public forum, away from the lecture room in which the words were originally delivered, and including Doddridge's advice meant that an expression of the author's intentions for the text remained available to readers. Doddridge's complicated, unfamiliar and, to some, controversial method could be presented by the man responsible for it.

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[121] For a discussion of Williams's and Parsons's intentions in their version of *A Course of Lectures*, and an account of how they changed his mathematical method more significantly than either Clark or Kippis, see Rivers, *The Defence of Truth Through the Knowledge of Error*, 24-6.
[122] *A Course of Lectures* (1763), sig. b.

Each editor's prefatory statement to *A Course of Lectures* and Kippis's presentation of Doddridge in other printed works contribute to the construction of Doddridge as a figurehead for a community of learning. Both Kippis and Williams respond to Doddridge in their prefaces while adapting his references within their editions of his course. They use Doddridge as the focal point around which to organise debate about the form and content of theological education. Particularly to Kippis, publishing Doddridge's work was an opportunity to present arguments about how and when different authors should be referred to and how *A Course of Lectures* itself could be used.

The French translation of *A Course of Lectures*, published in 1768, further complicates the nature of Doddridge's authority over his own lecture course. His introduction is not included in this edition, which instead features a lengthy explanation from the anonymous translator of how the lectures have been modified to make them appropriate for a Roman Catholic audience.[123] This was a very unusual practice: a translation of John Leland's work *The Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation* (1764) was published in Liège in the same year, but no other dissenters' works received this treatment.[124] The translator insists that he has added substantially to Doddridge's work. It seems likely that he was working from the 1763 printed edition, rather than a manuscript copy, as the references are largely identical to those of the printed edition.

The French and English versions of the printed course can be compared by taking one lecture as an example, the first concerning miracles. This is proposition 90 'To consider some other definitions which celebrated writers have given of miracles', in both the 1763 English and 1768 French editions. Both begin with Locke's definition. Both end by acknowledging Locke's point that no man can know the whole course of nature, but insist that 'so much may be known, as that some instances may plainly appear to be above it: *v.g.* recovering

[123] See 'Preface de l'Editeur, in *Cours de Lectures . . . du D . Doddridge*, 4 vols. (Liège, 1768), I, i-viii. Benjamin Sowden (a former student of Doddridge) sent Mercy Doddridge a translation of parts of the preface. He told her that the translator was an English Jesuit at Liège. There are several tutors at the English Jesuit College who might have translated the work, but it has not proved possible to positively identify the translator or to establish how a copy of *A Course of Lectures* reached the college. See Appendix II for a transcription of the letter from Benjamin Sowden to Mercy Doddridge, 17 April 1777. DWL MS NCL L.1/9/24-5.

[124] John Leland, *Nouvelle Demonstration Evangelique où l'on Preuve la Necessité de la Révélation*, 4 vols. (Liège, 1768). The translator is not known, but it is published by the same bookseller as *Cours de Lectures*, Clement Plomteaux. The work was also published in Paris in 1769.

the sight of the blind, or the life of the dead by a word speaking, or making one loaf serve a thousand men'.[125] But instead of Doddridge's response to Locke that 'But on this account of the matter, every juggling trick, which I cannot understand, will, while my ignorance continues, be a miracle to me', the French translator gives a less pithy circumlocution of the same point.[126]

In the rest of the summary of different positions on miracles, the French translation follows Doddridge, and includes all the references Doddridge gives. Sometimes the reference is to the English title of a work (Locke's *Posthumous Pieces*, for example, and Samuel Chandler's *On Miracles*) but sometimes the French title is given: Samuel Clarke's 'Boyle Lectures' (as the work is titled in *A Course of Lectures*) is given its correct title of 'Démonstration de l'Existence & des Attributs de Dieu', for example. The choice reflects the language in which a work was available: if it had been translated into French, the French title is given. The French edition retains the page numbers of Doddridge's references where he reproduces a title in English. When a French title is used, there are no page references. This reference to French editions of works raises one of the many questions surrounding this work: just how likely was it that French-speaking, Roman Catholic theology students would have access to the English Protestant religious works which make up the bulk of the references in *A Course of Lectures*? And why has the editor not replaced Doddridge's references with French, Catholic authors? Given the anonymous editor's stated desire that the work be introduced to French-speaking seminaries, colleges and universities it seems strange that he has not used works more likely to be available to students and tutors in these institutions.

The French editor has restructured the course far more freely than any of its English editors, who sometimes add materials, but never change the order of the lectures. For example, Proposition 90 ('Various definitions of miracles examined') constitutes lecture 101 in the English edition (the beginning part V of the course) and lecture 126 in the French (from part VIII of that version). The French editor has omitted some parts of Doddridge's course entirely (parts VIII

[125] Doddridge, *A Course of Lectures* (1763), 222.
[126] Doddridge, *A Course of Lectures* (1763), 223. The French edition has: 'Il s'ensuivroit de-là que dans les siecles d'ignorance il doit y avoir plus de miracles que dans ages plus éclairs; & que l'ignorance d'un chacun doit faire par rapport à lui des miracles de certains événemens qui n'ont rien de miraculeux pour des esprits moins bornés.' *Cours de Lectures*, III, 8-9.

'Of the fall of human nature' and X, 'The Scripture doctrine of good and bad angels, and of a future state'). He has reduced other aspects; for example, much of the material to do with Jewish customs and the Old Testament in part VI of the English course has been omitted. Other sections are expanded, so that lectures on civil government become an entire part of the course (part IV) rather than a section of part III, as they are in the English. Caleb Ashworth rearranged some lectures while maintaining the overall structure of the course and calling it Doddridge's (as described in Chapter one), but none of the editors of the printed editions took such liberties with Doddridge's ordering of material. It is impossible to know what Doddridge would have made of the use of his *Course of Lectures* for Jesuit seminarians. Job Orton viewed the matter in a positive light:

> The Anecdote from France is curious & truly honourable to the Author of the Lectures. I fear no ill Consequence from this Publication. All Improvements in Knowledge & Science are unfavourable to the Interests of Popery & if students thoroughly understand & embibe the first principles in the Lectures, it will not be easy to reconcile them to many popish Doctrines, tho' not expressly stated & confuted in the French Translation of the work.[127]

Orton was not worried that Doddridge's views would be distorted by their denominational and linguistic translation. He saw the reformulation of Doddridge's lectures for a Catholic audience as an opportunity for his methods and ideas to reach a new audience which might in turn prove Doddridge's view that free enquiry should lead the diligent reader to the truth. There is no evidence that Orton was right, or that the translator achieved his goal of having the work taken up in French-speaking colleges. It does, however, demonstrate that Doddridge's educational methods crossed denominational and national boundaries, and that his name was associated with new developments in theological education.[128]

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[127] Job Orton to Mercy Doddridge, 19 November 1772. DWL MS NCL L.1/8/73. The date with which the letter is endorsed in Mercy Doddridge's hand (and which is added in a later hand to the beginning of the letter) may be incorrect, as the letter from Sowden which describes the French edition and urges Mercy Doddridge to pass on the information to Orton, is dated 1777 in Sowden's own hand.

[128] There do not appear to have been any further editions, but Doddridge was included in several nineteenth-century French biographical dictionaries, which listed the English and French versions

7. The 'Lectures on Preaching': anxieties about publication

In the provisions Doddridge made for the publication of his educational works in his will, he paired his theological lectures with the shorter course of lectures on preaching which came at the conclusion of the academy course. He then went on to specify that each student at his academy at the time of his death who was intended for the ministry must be given a manuscript copy of the lectures. Though 'Lectures on Preaching' only comprised a short series, he considered them absolutely essential for trainee ministers to take to their first ministerial posts.

In a statement about ministerial seriousness and responsibility, Doddridge ends the section of his will dealing with the publication of the lectures with the demand that the copy of the lectures given to departing students should be accompanied 'with a Solemn Charge as before God and the Lord Jesus Christ that they seriously attend to the Contents of them so far as they are in their Consciences convinced of the agreeableness of those Advices to reason and to the Word of God.'[129] This can be read as Doddridge's instructions on how the 'Lectures on Preaching' should be used: not as a set of rules, but as a summary of the behaviour ministerial students should be following of their own volition, guided by their own consciences. Even in his will, Doddridge reasserts his view that rational thought and the revelation of the gospels are the twin pillars of religion. Doddridge's idea that the published 'Lectures on Preaching' should be a separate section of his course, to be placed after *A Course of Lectures*, is consistent with the appearance of the 'Lectures on Preaching' as the final volume in the ten-volume series of shorthand lecture notes made by Samuel Henley at Daventry, as well as the reports of how the lectures were introduced at the academy which we find in Doddridge's 'Life of Thomas Steffe' and Job Orton's biography of Doddridge.[130]

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of *A Course of Lectures* among his significant works, suggesting that the French translation did not disappear. See *Biographie Universelle Ancienne et Moderne*, 85 vols. (Paris, 1811-62) XI, 388.

[129] TNA: PRO PROB 11/791, sig. 332.

[130] Samuel Henley's lecture notes 1759-61 (DWL MSS 28.35-44), show that Doddridge's progression from theological lectures to lectures on preaching was preserved at Caleb Ashworth's

Despite Doddridge's instructions, the 'Lectures on Preaching' were not published until the nineteenth century. The question of their publication had first arisen in 1763 (at the time *A Course of Lectures* was being published) when Orton told Mercy Doddridge that 'The Author intended the preaching Lectures sh^{d} be printed – but then I know he intended to have transcribed them & thrown them into quite a different Form.' The problem for Orton was that the lectures were raw and private and unpolished:

> As they stand at present, to print them w^{d} be the greatest Injury to his Reputation & Memory – to the dissenting Interest in General & the Credit of our Academies in particular; for there are many particular Remarks upon Authors yet living, many Cautions & Directions about y^{e} prudential part of his Pupils Conduct, which were given to the pupils in Confidence, & by no means fit to appear in the world – as Nothing w^{d} please y^{e} High Church Men & narrow People among the Dissenters more, than to have an Opportunity to expose the D^{r} & his pupils & Instructions, as they w^{d} have a Handle for doing, were his private advices exposed.[131]

Orton's concern that the lectures might distress those at either end of the ecclesiastical spectrum is particularly striking. His aim was precisely *not* to make Doddridge a controversial figure: he wished to construct Doddridge as a reliable, orthodox authorial figure who could represent moderate dissent and appeal to all denominations. This being so, he would not risk publishing work under Doddridge's name which might lead to him becoming associated with extreme, enthusiastic ideas or impolite manners. Having appealed to Mercy Doddridge's sense of decorum, Orton invoked the consensus of other dissenters, saying 'I have consulted all my Fellow pupils, to whom I had Access on this Subject & they all strongly remonstrated against printing them.' He evidently considered this collective opinion a strong one, for he reiterated the point that 'among all my Brethren to whom I have fairly communicated this Affair, there is not <u>one</u> but agrees with me that it w^{d} be [in] every way wrong to print y^{e} preaching Lectures.'[132] Among dissenters, collective agreement was valued highly, and by invoking the considered opinion of other ministers, specifically of Doddridge's

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academy. See Doddridge 'Life of Thomas Steffe', xix-xx and Orton, *Memoirs*, 95-6, and Chapter one, section four above.

[131] Job Orton to Mercy Doddridge, 11 April 1763. DWL MS NCL L.1/8/48.

[132] Job Orton to Mercy Doddridge, 11 April 1763. DWL MS NCL L.1/8/48.

former students, Orton hoped to persuade Mercy Doddridge to accept his advice by telling her that those best qualified to judge the merits of publication had sided with him.

Orton acknowledged the importance and purpose of Doddridge's lectures, but questioned the seemliness of transposing lectures which had not been revised for publication from the private realm of personal interaction in the lecture room to the public arena of print. His particular anxieties were that private conversations between Doddridge and his students should not be made public and, with respect to the content of the lectures, that writers still living were treated too brusquely and honestly for general reading. A further issue that Orton avoided fully articulating was that to overcome all of these problems, the 'Lectures on Preaching' would have to be carefully revised and edited, and Orton did not want to take on the task, but would not trust anyone else to do it. Orton's opinion obviously carried weight with Mercy Doddridge, for there is no further evidence in extant correspondence that she pursued the possibility of publishing the 'Lectures on Preaching'.

Lectures on preaching and pastoral care (not always Doddridge's) rounded off ministerial education in dissenting academies into the nineteenth century, and manuscript copies of Doddridge's lectures were being made and circulated right up to the moment a printed version of the text was published, as Chapter one showed.[133] In a private setting among dissenters and guided by approved teachers, the lectures were an acceptable resource; indeed a respected one. The difficulty came when the wider world, without an understanding of how Doddridge's academy was conducted, was allowed to access his unmediated views on puritan and dissenting divines and Anglican clergymen. While dissenters may not have routinely faced prosecution or persecution in the eighteenth century, their anxieties about the content of some of Doddridge's works and the ways in which they were promoted suggests strongly that they feared provoking a hostile reaction from those outside dissent, with unknown consequences.[134]

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[133] DWL MS 28.124 is named and dated inside the front cover 'Timothy Davis 13 March 1802 Carmarthen' and ends 'Finis Nov^{br} 4th 1801', fol. 158.

[134] This is in contrast to *The Family Expositor*, the content of which was not considered at risk of being thought controversial, though the mode of publicising the serial edition was a cause of

8. The 'Lectures on Preaching' in print

The 'Lectures on Preaching' only appeared in full in book form in English when they were included after *A Course of Lectures* in volume five of Williams's and Parsons's edition of Doddridge's *Works* in 1804.[135] In contrast to Orton's anxiety, they declare that the lectures 'secure the deserved reputation of Dr. DODDRIDGE' and affirm that the lectures are useful to students:

> We view them as possessing very considerable excellence . . . In them we discover a great insight into human nature, an uniform regard to religious, moral, and civil propriety of conduct, ardent wishes to benefit mankind by promoting vital and practical religion.[136]

They give no reason for the long delay in the publication of these lectures, nor do they declare that at last Doddridge's wishes are being met, as they may well not have known this. There were several separate editions of 'Lectures on Preaching' following this in the first few decades of the nineteenth century. The first separate edition was in 1804 (the same year as its appearance in volume five of the *Works*) followed by editions published in London, Boston and Edinburgh.[137] The lectures were also included in a miscellaneous collection of Doddridgeana entitled *Devotional Letters and Sacramental Meditations*.[138] Before these book publications of the whole body of lectures, extracts from the 'Lectures on Preaching' appeared in a periodical (*The Universal Theological Magazine*) and

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anxiety to Caleb Ashworth; and to *A Course of Lectures*, which, despite meeting with adverse reaction in the *Monthly Review*, was never an object of concern to Doddridge's associates.

[135] A Dutch translation of the 'Lectures on Preaching' exists, translated by Thomas Greaves (who had been a student of Doddridge and was a minister at Rotterdam) entitled *Lessen over het Samensteelen en Uitspreken can Predikatien* (Rotterdam, 1770). The only copy to have been located is in the library of Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam and it has not been possible to view it. See van den Berg and Nuttall, *Philip Doddridge (1702-1751) and the Netherlands*, 37. Greaves was ill during the final months of his education, and may not have attended the 'Lectures on Preaching' in person: see *Cal.* 1140, 1145.

[136] Williams and Parsons, 'Advertisement' to 'Lectures on Preaching' in Doddridge, *Works*, V, 424.

[137] Separate editions were published in London in 1807, 1821, 1822. The 1821 edition was simultaneously published in Edinburgh. The Boston edition was published in 1808.

[138] Philip Doddridge, *The Devotional Letters and Sacramental Meditations of the Rev. P. Doddridge, with his Lectures on Preaching* (London, 1832). On 11 April 1758, Job Orton wrote to Mercy Doddridge to say that he and Samuel Clark did not think the sacramental meditations were suitable for publication: see CHCN Doddridge MS.

in an appendix to a work by Doddridge's editor Edward Williams, *The Christian Preacher* (1800).

The Christian Preacher: or, Discourses on Preaching collected together sermons by John Jennings, Isaac Watts, Philip Doddridge, John Wilkins and Jean Claude, and a discourse on preaching by August Hermann Francke.[139] The compendium of sermons by English, German and French ministers of different Protestant denominations provided ministers at work in the nineteenth century with examples of preaching from earlier generations. The volume includes a list of books entitled 'The Preacher's Library'.[140] The list of books begins with remarks about the value of reading and advice on where to discover which books have been published and the prices one should expect to pay for them. It lists titles and authors by category, starting with editions of the Bible and biblical commentators. Section XXVII lists 'English Practical Writers' in the manner of lectures II-IV of the 'Lectures on Preaching'. Williams flags the point that the arrangement of writers follows Doddridge's ordering and that he incorporates some of Doddridge's comments:

> We may, with Dr. Doddridge, distribute them into the Puritans, the Nonconformists, and Episcopalians. Those writers of works which he has characterized shall be noticed in his own words, when they suit my purpose, distinguished by inverted commas.[141]

While the list does not correspond exactly with that of the 'Lectures on Preaching', there are sequences where the names of the writers appear in the same order as they do in the lectures. As he writes in a footnote, his source is 'his Preaching Lectures in Manuscript; of which I have two copies. When these differ, as they often do, the character which appears most just is given.'[142] Some interesting additions to Doddridge's lists include an entry for Whitefield and one for Doddridge himself, where we are told that 'Doddridge excels in distinctness

[139] Edward Williams, *The Christian Preacher: or, Discourses on Preaching* (Halifax, 1800). The discourses by Jennings and Francke will be discussed in Chapter three, section one below.
[140] A second appendix of further reading was added in the fifth edition of 1843.
[141] Williams, *The Christian Preacher*, 467.
[142] Williams, *The Christian Preacher*, 452.

of method, & scripture phraseology.'[143] The fact that Whitefield does not appear in the printed 'Lectures on Preaching' indicates that Williams was careful to keep the published lectures as close to the manuscript copies he had as possible by not adding to Doddridge's words and also, perhaps, that he was consciously avoiding including any controversial figures.[144] The entry on Doddridge is also absent from the published 'Lectures on Preaching', perhaps as a manoeuvre intended to preserve the idea that the text is as close to Doddridge's words as possible.

Extracts from the 'Lectures on Preaching' appeared in the Unitarian periodical, the *Universal Theological Magazine* throughout 1803. Two were of Doddridge's comments on Bible commentators, and two contained his sketches of the preaching style of puritan, dissenting and established church preachers.[145] These extracts correspond very closely to those in manuscript copies of the 'Lectures on Preaching' as well as the version printed in the *Works*. The first extract was rather different. In June 1803, a letter from 'Rusticus' was printed:

> I am induced to send you two other pieces, transcribed from a Course of MS. Lectures on ORATORY, which were used in the seminary over which Dr. Doddridge once presided. I apprehend a great part of them were drawn up the Doctor; but the copy from which I transcribed mine had evidently received additions.[146]

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[143] Williams, *The Christian Preacher*, 470, 476. The remarks on Doddridge are not the same as those which appear in BBC MS G 93 and DWL MS NCL L.29/24. See Chapter one, section four above.

[144] No evangelical Anglican preachers appear in Doddridge's 'Lectures on Preaching', even though Whitefield preached from his pulpit, Wesley lectured Doddridge's academy students once, and both were among the most significant preachers of the age.

[145] The letter which introduces them begins 'In those Lectures of Dr. Doddridge, which are denominated his *Preaching Lectures*, and which were never printed, are brief characters of the most celebrated commentaries', *Universal Theological Magazine*, 9 (1803), 82. Commentators on the Bible are the subject of lectures XIV and XV (see 'Lectures on Preaching' in Doddridge, *Works*, V, 471-77). The notes on commentators appear in the *Universal Theological Magazine*, 9 (1803), 82-88 and 127-33; the second version of Doddridge's notes on practical writers (which correspond closely to lectures II-IV of the 'Lectures on Preaching' in Doddridge, *Works*, V) are printed in *Universal Theological Magazine*, 9 (1803), 195-202 and 237-45.

[146] *Universal Theological Magazine*, 8 (1803) 301-09. In volume 9 (1803) a letter from 'Rusticus' dated 1 March 1803 introduces extracts from the 'Lectures on Preaching' with no reference to the extracts in volume 8. The *Universal Theological Magazine* was founded in 1802 by William Vidler and continued as the *Monthly Repository* by Robert Aspland from 1809. The title continued until 1836. Gordon identified 'Rusticus' as the Unitarian minister Edmund Butcher, who had been educated at Daventry academy: see Alexander Gordon, 'Butcher, Edmund (1757–1822)', rev. M. J. Mercer, *ODNB*.

This first instalment comprises 'A brief account of ancient and modern moral writers' (a survey of Greek, Latin, French and English orators) and comments 'On Style in Writing', which gives sketches of the style of various poets and preachers. The first set of remarks do not appear in any other manuscript or printed copies of 'Lectures on Preaching', and though some of the writers referred to in the second set appear in the preaching lectures, the range and order of the names bears little relationship to the manuscript 'Lectures on Preaching' which predate it, or to subsequent printed versions. Some of the remarks are taken from the section on 'Oratory' in John Jennings's printed textbook *Miscellanea*, and are attributed to him.[147] The comments on the writers are often exactly the same as in manuscript of the 'Lectures on Preaching' (for example, the remarks on John Tillotson's 'beautiful simplicity', which Doddridge borrows from Jennings) or the same idea is expressed in different words.[148]

The decision by 'Rusticus' to send extracts from the 'Lectures on Preaching' to the *Universal Theological Magazine* requires some explanation. 'Rusticus' presents his activity in straightforward terms as part of the project to gather together and publish materials representative of dissenting culture in the previous century.[149] Publishing extracts of the 'Lectures on Preaching' in a magazine introduced Doddridge's advice to appreciative readers, and may also have been intended to establish it as a legitimate and valuable part of the Doddridge corpus. While denominational magazines often published letters from, and anecdotes and opinions about, deceased ministers and tutors, presenting previously unpublished lectures in this way was unusual.[150] The contributor and editor were publishing materials which had circulated widely in manuscript for decades, presenting it as the first time the material had been printed, and making no connection with the other recent appearance in print of similar extracts, those in Williams's *Christian Preacher*. Denominational differences may account for this. The *Universal Theological Magazine* was a

[147] Jennings, *Miscellanea in usum juventutis academicae*, 13-34 (27-9).
[148] Doddridge, *Works*, V, 435.
[149] 'As a literary curiosity, and as I think containing some very just remarks, I send an Extract for insertion in your liberal and useful Work' wrote Rusticus in a letter dated 1 March 1803, and published in August that year. *Universal Theological Magazine*, 9 (1803) 82.
[150] 'Rusticus' also sent two lectures on eloquence by Andrew Kippis; they had previously been printed, however, and were sent because they appeared in the same manuscript as the extracts of Doddridge's lectures. These were the only other lectures to be printed in the magazine. *Universal Theological Magazine*, new ser., 1 (1804) 192-6, 255-63.

relatively learned Unitarian journal whose readers were mostly ministers, but they might not have been in sympathy with Edward Williams, who was a Congregationalist. Including extracts from Doddridge's lectures in the *Universal Theological Magazine* claims him as an influence on a different tradition of dissenting education from that which Edward Williams belonged to and for which he wrote.[151]

In the period just before their publication in complete form in Doddridge's *Works*, dissenters from different theological parties who all viewed Doddridge as a forebear apparently wanted to make his teaching materials available. They did not, however, issue complete publications: extracts from the 'Lectures on Preaching' appeared in the more peripheral locations of appendixes and periodicals. Perhaps those responsible were testing out the lectures' suitability for print publication, and hoped to gauge responses to the publication of extracts before publishing the whole course. At least one response indicates that Orton correctly anticipated objections to the 'Lectures on Preaching'. 'P. H.', a correspondent to the *Universal Theological Magazine*, observed that 'DR. DODDRIDGE'S Preaching Lectures were never intended for the press, and are in many views unfit for publication; otherwise they would have been published with his other Lectures'.[152] This correspondent insists that the magazine should not print further extracts, nor should the editors of the *Works* publish the 'Lectures on Preaching'. Though the two locations treat the lectures differently, 'P. H.' believes that nowhere in print is appropriate for the 'Lectures on Preaching'

Both Williams and *The Universal Theological Magazine* published the same parts of the Doddridge course: the notes on preachers. This was also the material from Doddridge's lectures which John Conder appended to his own lectures on preaching. That is, the first parts of Doddridge's 'Lectures on Preaching' to appear in print were those which had been most often used by other tutors. Not only does this show print following its manuscript antecedents very closely, it also demonstrates that the parts of Doddridge's course dissenters were most likely to circulate were among the parts of it Job Orton thought should

[151] Competition and co-operation between different wings of dissent is addressed in Chapter four below. For more on the *Universal Theological Magazine*, see Francis E. Mineka, *The Dissidence of Dissent: The Monthly Repository, 1806-1838* (Chapel Hill, 1944), 80-1.
[152] *Universal Theological Magazine*, 9 (1803) 297-9.

be suppressed. The fact that the lectures did not appear in print until fifty years after Doddridge's death did at least neutralise the objection that their publication could offend writers still living.

In the *Works*, Williams and Parsons stress that by publishing the lectures they are responding to a demand from the reading public, although they do not declare that they are also complying with Doddridge's own wishes as set out in his will, observing simply that 'the author has intimated no prohibition'.[153] The desire to forestall any improper appearance of the lectures in their entirety drove Williams and Parsons to include it their edition, they claim:

> it is well known that there are many mutilated and very imperfect copies abroad; and it is not improbable that, from some motive or other, a copy might find its way into the press in a form calculated to reflect but little credit on either the publisher or the author.[154]

The editors may have had the first extract to appear in the *Universal Theological Magazine* in mind as one such 'imperfect' copy, given that 'Rusticus' himself pointed out that the copy cannot have been lectures from Doddridge himself. 'Rusticus', however, was at ease with the process of circulating manuscripts and adding materials to them: he described how his copy was taken from another manuscript copy, and not made from lectures, and he noted that two lectures by Kippis had been included in the manuscript. Williams and Parsons were not able to endorse this flexible, evolving way of combining materials from different sources in one document. As the editors of Doddridge's complete works, their project was to define and reproduce the corpus of Doddridge's writings. To assert that their version was not only the official one, but the one that should be trusted to reproduce Doddridge's words the most accurately and comprehensively, they stress the thoroughness of their editorial practice. 'For the purposes of collation the Editors are in possession of four copies'; they wrote, and listed the dates and features to prove the authenticity of each of the manuscripts.[155] Their emphasis on the variety of manuscripts available and the

[153] Doddridge, *Works*, V, 424. They were unlikely to have known the content of Doddridge's will.
[154] Doddridge, *Works*, V, 424.
[155] Doddridge, *Works*, V, 423. Williams writes in *The Christian Preacher* that he is in possession of two copies of the 'Lectures on Preaching', suggesting that he borrowed two more in preparing the edition of the lectures.

extent to which their content varies does not conform to the evidence provided by manuscript copies extant today, but may be a rhetorical justification for the publication of the lectures and a claim for the usefulness of having an established version in print.

The lectures correspond in arrangement and content with surviving manuscript copies. There is one difference: in this first published version of the 'Lectures on Preaching', footnotes are inserted throughout the printed text which provide facts or make reference to other printed works.[156] These footnotes fulfil one of three functions. The first of these is to provide additional information to reinforce Doddridge's points. A footnote to §12 of Lecture XIV ('On Public Exposition') reinforces Doddridge's observation that Hammond's reputation is growing by noting 'A late Lecturer in one of our universities used to remind his pupils, that HAMMOND was the giant, and WHITBY the dwarf upon his shoulders.'[157] Secondly, they give information about Doddridge's own practice, such as the note to §5 of Lecture X ('More particular rules on the Composition of a Sermon') which cites a prayer for opening a sermon written by Doddridge which, having never been printed, would be unknown to most readers. Like the inclusion of Doddridge's introductory address to students in *A Course of Lectures*, the presence of this detail offers readers who did not know Doddridge an example of his own manner and strengthens the connection between lectures and ministerial practice. A third infrequent but significant use of the notes is to offer an alternative to Doddridge's perspective without intruding into his text itself.[158] For example, in §12 of Lecture VII ('On the Style of Sermons') Doddridge instructs readers 'Let it be *harmonious*'. This triggers a lengthy footnote, the principal purpose of which is to temper Doddridge's high praise of Tillotson:

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[156] The principal difference between the printed version and manuscript copies is that the former places in separate lecture remarks on Puritan preachers, nonconformists, dissenters of the eighteenth century and Anglican preachers, whereas the manuscripts treat them in two lectures.
[157] Doddridge, *Works*, V, 472. Doddridge's comment on Henry Hammond (1605-1660) is cited by Thomas Hartwell Horne in *An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, 3 vols. (London, 1818), II, 128. There were eighteen editions of this work in the nineteenth century.
[158] This can be compared with Andrew Kippis's footnotes providing additional references in his edition of Doddridge's *Course of Lectures* (1794).

> the defects of this favourite writer, in point of energetic harmony, had an unpleasant influence on some parts of our excellent author's writings; defects and an influence which have extended themselves even so far as to affect, in some degree, the national taste.[159]

This editorial incursion into the text is unique in this version of the 'Lectures on Preaching'.[160] It indicates an unusual moment of strong divergence of opinion between the author and his editors and it is significant that the justification made for it is that the span of Tillotson's influence is so wide that disagreement must be registered. This reflects the fact that by the early nineteenth century, Tillotson's popularity was in decline, whereas in Doddridge's time he was still considered a model for homiletic style. It is the only time in the 'Lectures on Preaching' that the editors use their publication of Doddridge's works to advance their own ideas about the present state of religion in Britain and its wider implications for ideas about the formation of a national taste.

Following the publication of Doddridge's *Works*, the 'Lectures on Preaching' were published separately a number of times. The first of several individual editions was published in 1804 in London, and bookseller for the title was Robert Ogle, who was one of the publishers of the *Works*.[161] Publication of the 'Lectures on Preaching' separately from *A Course of Lectures* did not conform to Doddridge's precise instructions, for it dislocates the lectures from their original context. The immediate appearance of an individual edition of the work may have been to forestall piracy and provide for readers who were interested in a new Doddridge work but unable or unwilling to purchase the ten-volume *Works*.[162] This conclusion is supported by the editorial statement which precedes the text in each separate edition of the lectures and replaces the 'Advertisement' of Williams's and Parsons's edition. It is dated 'London, 24 July 1804'. It is not signed, but the bulk of it is quotation from Williams and Parsons,

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[159] Doddridge, *Works*, V, 451-3.
[160] Williams and Parsons do comment on aspects of *A Course of Lectures*: see Rivers, *The Defence of Truth Through the Knowledge of Error*, 25-6.
[161] While the 1804 and 1821 editions were published by Ogle, the 1807 edition was published by Richard Edwards, who was not connected with the *Works*, and the 1808 edition by Manning and Loring.
[162] The *Works* cost £2 in boards, according to an advertisement in the 1805 edition of *The Family Expositor*. For a similar point about authors and publishers favouring swift reprints of a work in a small format to forestall piracy, see Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book*, 84.

whom it describes as 'the respectable Editors'.[163] The advertisement also declares that the edition is to serve the needs of divinity students and ministers who do not possess a copy of Doddridge's *Works*. The lectures are confidently declared to be an educational work, and this particular edition is presented as an economical version of the 'Lectures on Preaching'. Students outside the dissenting academy network could now possess a copy of Doddridge's 'Lectures on Preaching', and those within it need not make a handwritten copy of the lectures.

9. Manuscript, print and reputation

Doddridge's will asserted two objectives for continuing to publish his works after his death: making his ideas widely known (which would in consequence propagate true piety) and providing financial security for his family. Although they were amateur actors in the book trade, Doddridge's associates negotiated complicated arrangements for the printing, distribution and funding of editions of Doddridge's works, and secured advantageous terms for the sale of his copyright, in order to follow his wishes and further his reputation. The publication and dissemination of Doddridge's works demonstrates that hunger for profit was not the only force determining which books were produced in the eighteenth century, and that the religious motive Doddridge articulated in his will was a strong one. As Mercy Doddridge insisted during her negotiations with Rivington: 'my chief concern is to second to ye utmost of my power ye pious intentions of my ever Dear m^{r} D – by spreading [h]is writing as much as possible in the world.'[164] The idea of a community preserving and advertising the memory of its representative members also created demand for the works. Mercy Doddridge's determination to fulfil her husband's wishes drove the project to complete *The Family Expositor*, and she intended that selling the copyright to Rivington would develop Doddridge's reputation beyond dissent by association with a high profile Anglican bookselling family. Alongside increasingly varied print publications, Doddridge's words and ideas continued to spread through manuscript circulation

[163] Doddridge, *Lectures on Preaching* (London, 1807), iv.
[164] Mercy Doddridge to James Stonhouse, 11 March 1759. DWL MS NCL L.63/5.

of lecture notes, as discussed in Chapter one and described here by correspondents to religious magazines.

The intellectual reputation of orthodox but liberal dissent was demonstrated by the scholarly apparatus of *The Family Expositor* and *A Course of Lectures*. It was partly in order to demonstrate the extent and rigour of dissenting learning that *A Course of Lectures* was published, and dissenters from different traditions used it to claim Doddridge as a learned and respectable figurehead for their own educational and religious schemes in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The religious instruction incorporated into *The Family Expositor* and the guidance for ministers in how to serve their congregations in the 'Lectures on Preaching' reflect the importance Doddridge attached to the role of ministers in encouraging learning among the laity. The different strands of Doddridge's project were partly reflected in the appearance of the printed texts: while *The Family Expositor* was an impressive, multi-volume quarto work, it was also issued in parts and, later on, in other formats.[165] So that the primary audience of the 'Lectures on Preaching' could benefit from the work, it appeared in inexpensive, small-format editions. The publication of Doddridge's collected *Works* also meant that the complete range of his writings could be viewed in sequence. Doddridge's capacity to produce works for students, scholars and other Christians affirmed the cultural role of dissent in the world of books both at the time he wrote and into the nineteenth century.

Importantly, the new publications that perpetuated Doddridge's reputation from the 1750s onwards were not the work of the author alone. The role of editors in making texts tends to be overlooked: a reason for this is that the works themselves often conceal the full extent of editorial involvement in their production, as this chapter has shown. Attending to evidence of key editorial decisions which can be found in both the epistolary discussions before publication and in the presentation of printed texts has shown the variety of impulses directing the forms of Doddridge's posthumous works. Meanwhile, each published text reveals the priorities of its editor: Job Orton's determination to match the standards of scholarship set by the first three volumes of *The Family Expositor*, for example, reveals a view of Doddridge's place in the world of

[165] For a list of editions of *The Family Expositor*, see Whitehouse, '*The Family Expositor*, the Doddridge Circle and the Booksellers', 341-4.

books rather different to that of the purveyor of candid observations on preachers that Edward Williams wove into *The Christian Preacher*.

Doddridge's posthumous works were official publications for public record, and consequently they declared his exclusive authorship. In private conversation, correspondence and manuscript records, a more complicated version of his legacy and the processes which created it could be articulated. By the nineteenth century, the strict decorum that Orton had demanded for publications relating to Doddridge had relaxed, partly because religious magazines blurred the distinction between private and public traditionally demarcated by print. By publishing fragments, extracts from commonplace books, anecdotes and other unpolished items, they circulated information about Doddridge and his associates' work in print but among a community of readers who were largely in sympathy with each other.

The regular republication of *The Family Expositor* and the various audiences it was directed towards, the publication of *A Course of Lectures*, and the continued use of the 'Lectures on Preaching' attest to the ongoing conviction among dissenters of the primacy of religious experience based on rational enquiry and personal engagement, and the importance of promoting this through learned and educational works. Questions about the content of Doddridge's posthumously published works and the kinds of model they might provide indicate that his works were not always uncontroversial, but were recognised by dissenters to be among their principal cultural and intellectual resources. Similar priorities shaped Isaac Watts's works, which also had a complicated life after their author's death, as Chapter three will explore.

Chapter Three

Education, publishing and dissent: Isaac Watts's works

In July 1741, the *History of the Works of the Learned* recommended that readers 'ambitious of appearing with any *éclat* in the Republick of Letters' should consult Isaac Watts's recently published *The Improvement of the Mind* (1741).[1] The review identified Watts's work by its subtitle '*a Supplement to the Art of Logick*', highlighting its relationship to Watts's earlier textbook *Logick* (1725), a survey of the operations and applications of human reason which by 1741 was in use at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge as well as at dissenting academies. The use of the word 'éclat' in this complimentary summary positions *The Improvement of the Mind* as a work for the confident neophyte who wishes to command attention. The *History of the Works of the Learned* was a journal that concentrated on providing abstracts of published works of history, theology and natural philosophy, and publishing debates between learned authors. It might appear an unlikely place for a review of a compendium of study methods, recommended reading and desirable comportment produced by a dissenting minister. However, Watts's pedagogic works were not written for restricted audiences. Watts said himself that his hope for *Logick* was 'that the gentleman, and the christian, might find their account in the perusal, as well as the scholar'.[2] Watts's strategies for drawing a range of audiences together in particular printed works were part of his wider task to demonstrate and encourage reading and learning. This project was rooted in dissenters' literary culture, but Watts's purpose was also to address readers from beyond his own tradition, and this chapter will investigate the range of ways in which he did this.

The attitude to print culture of the seventeenth-century nonconformist divine Richard Baxter provided an important model for Watts and other dissenters of the eighteenth century. Baxter energetically published works that promoted godly articulations of daily piety and spiritual learning, and he saw publishing as an extension of his ministry, for, as he put it, 'lively Books may be

[1] *History of the Works of the Learned*, 10 (1741), 1-28 (28).
[2] Watts, *Works*, V, iii.

easilier had, than lively Preachers'.[3] Baxterian preaching was emotionally engaging ('affectionate') and easily understood. It was experiential and firmly located in Scripture. Baxter specifically addressed particular texts (and even sections of texts) to certain readers in order to meet the spiritual needs of the widest range of readers possible. His *Christian Directory* (1673) includes lists of books suitable for the poor, for students and for family reading.[4] Watts sought to open up his works to varied and extensive audiences. He imitated Baxter's practice of writing simply and offering advice to specific groups of Christians. Doddridge declared his esteem for Baxter in his correspondence, and his 'Lectures on Preaching' emphasised the model for eloquence and effective ministry that Baxter provided to young dissenting ministers: 'A manly eloquence, and the most evident Proofs of amazing Genius, with respect to which he may not improperly be called The English Demosthenes . . . Few were the means of converting more souls than M^{r} Baxter.'[5] Watts and Doddridge both looked to Baxter as the exemplary figure from an earlier age of nonconformity, and borrowed some of his approaches in their efforts to shape educational, learned and religious culture in the eighteenth century.[6]

As a supporter of dissenting academies, author of catechisms and promoter of practical divinity, Watts was an active participant in the educational world of dissent. Additionally, he set an important example among dissenters as an author whose reach in print extended far beyond his initial dissenting contexts, and in this respect certainly influenced Doddridge's publishing projects. Watts's textual endeavours encompassed editing, recommending and distributing the works of others. As this chapter will demonstrate, he presented collaborative efforts among dissenters to a more broadly imagined reading public, though his approach to these tasks was rather different from that of later dissenters such as Doddridge's associates.

Watts sought a variety of audiences and, as the presence of the review in the *History of the Works of the Learned* suggests, his prose works – characterised by straightforward aims and modes of presentation, and promoting empirical

[3] Richard Baxter, *A Christian Directory* (London, 1673), part 2, 580. Quoted in N. H. Keeble, *Richard Baxter, Puritan Man of Letters* (Oxford, 1982), 34. See also Rivers, *Reason, Grace and Sentiment*, I, ch. 2.
[4] Keeble, *Richard Baxter, Puritan Man of Letters*, 36-43.
[5] Doddridge, *Works*, V, 431. *Cal*. 155, 185.
[6] Nuttall, *Richard Baxter and Philip Doddridge.*

methods of rational enquiry – were used by adults as well as young students.[7] Texts which addressed the purpose and matter of education were frequently published in the eighteenth century, and the ways in which Watts's works contributed to pedagogic ideas and practice in the period are described below.

A specific group of readers identified by publishers and increasingly addressed by writers during the eighteenth century was children. Andrea Immel has located the intellectual source for the expansion of this market in the influence of Locke, noting that Watts, his great populariser, shared his pragmatic view of the need for improved teaching materials.[8] The bookseller John Newbery was the leader in the children's book industry: Jan Fergus has shown that even boys in their teens would read his books.[9] While Immel notes that Locke influenced Newbery's products, she does not consider how much the content and style of Newbery's *Circle of the Sciences* series owes to Watts, particularly the volumes covering ontology, logic and chronology.[10] Newbery was an astute businessman, and one of his successful innovations was to pioneer the use of very small formats (the *Circle of the Sciences* is 32mo). Later eighteenth- and nineteenth-century editions of Watts's works in 'pocket' versions with engraved frontispiece illustrations may owe something to Newbery's popularisation of tiny formats for children's books.

The presentation of information to children in simple language and through inexpensive books, which Watts championed, was one aspect of a culture of informal education enabled by print, at the other end of the spectrum in terms of format and price to monumental encyclopaedic works such as Ephraim

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[7] Both Robert DeMaria and Richard Yeo have drawn attention to his role as a populariser of Locke who was read by Samuel Johnson, for example, and DeMaria identifies Watts's educational ideas as informing the structure and content of Johnson's *Dictionary*: see Robert DeMaria, *Johnson's Dictionary and the Language of Learning* (Oxford, 1986), 19-20, 36-7; Richard Yeo, *Encyclopaedic Visions: Scientific Dictionaries and Enlightenment Culture* (Cambridge, 2001), 73-4, 158; John Locke, *Thoughts on Education* (London, 1693).

[8] Andrea Immel, 'Children's Books and School-Books' in *CHBB*, V, 736-49, (737). Some sources for children's literature from the seventeenth century that may have influenced Watts are discussed in Escott, *Isaac Watts, Hymnographer*, 199-206.

[9] Jan Fergus notes that students and even adults 'purchased more Newbery children's books on credit from the bookshop in Warwick, operated by Samuel Clay, than they did novels'. Fergus, *Provincial Readers in Eighteenth-Century England*, 6. Heather Kleeman explores the connections between Newbery and Locke (but omits Watts) in 'The Matter for Moral Education: Locke, Newbery and the Didactic Book-Toy Hybrid', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 44 (2011), 223–44. Brief studies of Newbery also appear in J. H. Plumb, 'The New World of Children in Eighteenth-Century England', *The Birth of a Consumer Society: the Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*, 286-315 (301-6), and Benedict, *Making the Modern Reader*, 185.

[10] John Newbery, *Circle of the Sciences*, 8 vols. (London, 1745-48).

Chambers' *Cyclopedia* and Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary*. Richard Yeo has described encyclopaedias as instruments of the burgeoning Republic of Letters that, from the seventeenth century onwards, facilitated the dissemination of knowledge through alternative channels to the universities. This new community of learning was imagined in inclusive terms as one in which well informed discourse could be undertaken by all those with appropriate mental training.[11] Such training was provided by Watts's works which describe and enact methods for intellectual preparation in simple language. This, as well as the biographical fact that, as a dissenter the universities were not inviting to him, places Watts as a participant in the Republic of Letters described by Yeo.

Watts used print to diffuse his ideas about education, his mode of address widened the potential readership for his own works and his activities consciously extended dissenting educational ideas beyond dissenting academies. As well as publishing his own works, Watts promoted the works of others and introduced foreign writers to English readers. He helped shape a broadly defined community of godly learning through prefaces and recommendations as a crucial part of his project to connect audiences in different groups and of different nationalities through print.

1. Watts's prefaces and recommendations

Watts has already appeared in this thesis as a promoter of projects. In the 1730s he acted as a subscription agent for Doddridge's *Family Expositor* among purchasers in New England; before this, in the late 1720s, he had encouraged Doddridge's endeavour to open a new academy. Doddridge may have approached him with his ideas because he knew Watts had viewed the work of his tutor, John Jennings, favourably. Watts had written a recommendatory preface to Jennings's only published work, *Two Discourses: The First of Preaching Christ and the Second of Experimental Preaching* (1723). These discourses began life as lectures on practical religion delivered to the students at Jennings's academy. In his 'Account of Mr Jennings's Method' (which Isaac

[11] Yeo, *Encyclopaedic Visions*, 34-46. The Republic of Letters described by Goldgar is a rather more exclusive community: see Anne Goldgar, *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters 1680-1750* (New Haven and London, 1995), 2-3, 6-7, 239-42.

Watts read), Philip Doddridge described how, one Friday in every month, students and tutor would unite in a day of devotion, fasting and contemplation in preparation for receiving the Lord's Supper that Sunday. At ten o'clock they would gather in the chapel:

> after some time spent in the Offices of Devotion M^r^ Jennings gave us a Lecture from the Pulpit on some Topick which was peculiarly Suitable to us as Students. These he compos'd with great Care and Exactness, far beyond what he us'd in his Sermons. The incomparable Discourses of preaching Christ, and of experimental Preaching, which he publish'd to the World just before his Death were drawn up and preach'd on such Occasions.[12]

Watts's recommendatory preface explained how the discourses could be useful beyond the specific context for which they had been composed. Though Jennings 'assumes not so much to himself, as to address any besides *Students* and *Younger Ministers*', nevertheless 'if in the *middle Age of Life* we should examine our Performances by the Light of this Treatise, 'tis possible we and our People might be gainers by it'.[13]

A sketch of the discourses' content will show why Watts viewed them so positively. The first discourse, 'Of Preaching Christ', takes the requirement for 'careful and rational enquiry' best approached by study of the gospels and other works and places it alongside another crucial component of sermons: that they keep Christ at their centre.[14] Treating these two strands together allows Jennings to outline a programme for composing intellectually rigorous sermons that are also emotionally affecting. Jennings's second discourse, 'Of Experimental Preaching', is concerned with method and audiences.[15] Throughout, Jennings reminds ministers to consider the range of needs of their audience. The tenor of his advice is Baxterian: the preacher ought to choose topics 'proper to the Converted and Unconverted, to notional Hypocrites and meer Moralists, to

[12] Doddridge, 'An Account of Mr Jennings's Method', fol. 37.
[13] John Jennings, *Two Discourses: the First, of Preaching Christ; the Second, of Particular and Experimental Preaching* (3rd edn., 1736), x-xi.
[14] John Jennings, *Two Discourses*, 15.
[15] Rivers defines experimental knowledge as comprising 'both the believer's own experience of religion, and acquaintance with the variety of the experience of others'. Experimental preaching propagated this type of knowledge and gave hearers advice on interpreting it. Rivers, *Reason, Grace and Sentiment*, I, 167.

Mourners, to Backsliders and lazy Christians'.[16] The preacher is given a four-part list of ways to present God's word so as to reach as many different hearers as possible, and is reminded several times of Jennings's contention that ' 'tis the best to suit our selves to all the Variety of Tempers and Experience of the Hearers, if it can be done'.[17] The end of the discourse addresses the need to cultivate serious piety in local communities. Jennings suggests that to do this, ministers should seek out the acquaintance of 'Persons of Politeness and Figure' and make regular home visits to encourage them to participate in 'free Discourse'.[18] He acknowledges that these people are often the hardest to reach, for 'the middle and lower Sort of People indeed, are more unreserved to grave Ministers'.[19] Jennings identified a role for print in shaping the devotional character of local communities: by publishing these discourses, he could speak to individual readers. Isaac Watts and Jennings's brother, David, developed his project through their editorial efforts in successive versions of *Two Discourses*.

Watts's recommendatory preface sets out the value of the discourses through an exploration of the concept of openness. Watts anticipates the work 'will spread its good Influences as far and wide as it finds Readers' and indeed still further for, being on the subject of preaching, it 'will become a more extensive Benefit; and will reach as many whole Assemblies of Men, as there are Ministers who shall happen to read it'.[20] Watts imagines the potential influence of these discourses to be very wide, as sermons influenced by John Jennings's ideas reached illiterate hearers. At the end of the preface he endorses the *Two Discourses* fulsomely and sketches a scene in which he is using the text:

> The Perusal of these excellent *Discourses* in Manuscript hath given me so much Satisfaction, that I take a sensible Pleasure to think that the Press will communicate them to the world; and then I hope for a further Share of Profit by keeping them always at my Right Hand when I am preparing for the Service of the Sanctuary.[21]

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[16] John Jennings, *Two Discourses*, 53-4.
[17] John Jennings, *Two Discourses*, 65.
[18] Jennings, *Two Discourses*, 66-7.
[19] Doddridge gives advice on suitable conduct when conversing with different sorts of people including 'persons of eminence in the congregation' in the 'Lectures on Preaching': see Doddridge, *Works*, V, 498.
[20] Jennings, *Two Discourses*, vii.
[21] Jennings, *Two Discourses*, xii.

Watts is himself the exemplar of the experienced preacher deriving 'profit' from Jennings's discourses. He plays on the expected pecuniary sense of the expression 'share of profit' and shifts its meaning to express a spiritual rather than financial benefit. Watts also presents the conventional distinction between manuscript and print positively, in terms of print facilitating communication 'to the world', to successfully reorient claims for the purpose of publishing this book away from motives of financial profit and towards the hoped-for social and spiritual gain of ministers and people.

Watts develops another sense of openness in terms of hope for the work's interdenominational usefulness, saying that these particular discourses 'are founded upon the general Principles of Christianity, and therefore invite the Perusal of All, being written without the narrow Spirit of a Party'.[22] Having created a frame that invites us to identify ourselves as tolerant readers, and refusing to specify limits for the work, Watts uses the preface to argue strongly for a reformation in preaching. He asserts the importance of evangelical and experimental preaching as the best way of stemming the 'the Growth of *Deism* and *Infidelity*', and offers a historical comparison of the relative success of preachers in 'the *Puritanical Age*' as opposed to the present. Watts develops these two strands into what almost amounts to a discourse of his own on the crucial place of preaching in contemporary society.[23] Thus he manipulates the standard paratextual equipment of prefaces and recommendations to make Jennings's *Two Discourses* the basis of a project that reaches beyond its initial scene of Jennings's advice to his students.

The scope of the work is extended still further in the 1736 edition which incorporates a letter on preaching by the famed Pietist, August Hermann Francke of Halle. On the title page of this third edition, the inclusion of Francke's letter is indicated by a passage of description which offers details designed to widen the appeal of this work, which is advertised as containing material by the 'late Reverend and Celebrated' Francke, who is 'Professor of Divinity . . . Pastor of a Church . . . and Director of the charitable Foundation there.' Readers interested in Pietism or German education, or who were aware of Francke's orphan house (as many charitably-minded people in England were) would notice this

[22] Jennings, *Two Discourses*, vii.
[23] Jennings, *Two Discourses*, viii.

description.[24] In this instance, the dissenters' motive of encouraging international awareness of religious and practical projects coincided with the booksellers' practice of highlighting the inclusion of new materials to encourage the sale of a work.

Watts composed an additional 'Advertisement' dated 'Newington, August 28, 1736' which was inserted between his preface and the first discourse. It emphasises the familial and social ties connecting the different materials contained in the book: the translator of the letter is identified as 'my valuable Friend Mr. David Jennings, the surviving Brother of the Author'. Watts's description of how the edition developed emphasises their harmony of purpose, and his choice of language repeatedly communicates his desired outcomes of pleasure, usefulness, and consensus: readers are told they will 'relish and approve' of the work, and will 'be very well pleased and entertain'd'.[25] Watts may be following the conventions of book advertising, but it is striking that the terms in which he chooses to recommend Jennings's discourses and Francke's letter can be found throughout his own writings.

David Jennings's preface to Francke's letter participates in Watts's collective approach to book publishing by engaging with the language already used by Watts and John Jennings. It reinforces the ideas expressed in Watts's preface by telling us more about the publishing history of the *Two Discourses*: 'besides a large Edition printed in *Scotland*, they have lately been translated and published in the *German* Language, by Order of the Reverend Dr. Franck' who also arranged to 'get them translated into *High-Dutch*, and inserted in a Collection of Papers, which is published in that Country about once a Month, for the Advancement of Religion'.[26] As well as advertising the popularity of the discourses, this information forges a practical connection between Francke's letter and Jennings's discourses in addition to Watts's thematic connection between the two. The preface highlights instances of small-scale endeavours

[24] Francke's own ongoing descriptions of Halle, *Pietas Hallensis* were published periodically in London from 1705 onwards. J. Downing (printer to the SPCK) printed the majority of Francke's works in London because of his association with Anton Wilhelm Böhm, the royal chaplain, advocate of Pietism and translator of Francke. Watts praised Böhm privately and in print, and wrote a recommendation for the English edition of Böhm's *Memoirs* (1735): see Daniel L. Brunner, *Halle Pietists in England: Anthony William Boehm and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (Göttingen, 1993), 143-4, 190, 194.
[25] Jennings, *Two Discourses*, xiv.
[26] Jennings, *Two Discourses*, 75-6.

within communities with strong familial and affectionate connections effecting the spread of ideas internationally. David Jennings's preface simultaneously celebrates the locality and specificity of the pieces by reminding us that the 1723 edition was 'first published by the author' and that the discourses grew out of work in his academy, while emphasising in his descriptions of the translations the process of international epistolary exchange which led to the publication.[27]

David Jennings presents the *Two Discourses* as having several different centres of influence connected together by print trade networks of import, export and distribution and by the individuals who promote each work to a new audience. He gives the social and institutional context of the publication by describing Francke's projects at Glaucha and explaining the significance of Francke and Jennings being published together. This suggests that rather than simply serving an already-connected international community, the book is attempting to generate wider awareness of projects being undertaken in the cause of promoting religion in different places. The title page announces that the letter was originally written in German, then translated into Latin by Francke's son, and now into English by David Jennings. This was itself an instance of community endeavour, for Francke's son originally translated his father's work which David Jennings then published with texts by his brother John. The project as a whole can be seen as an enlightened evangelical activity.[28] It sought to connect new ideas with new audiences internationally in order to deepen understanding of connections between religion and society via the exchange of information and ideas. Watts facilitated numerous exchanges of learning, of which the publication of *Two Discourses* with Francke's letter is one example.[29]

The extent to which Watts's hope that the work should both enhance people's rational and affectionate engagements with religion (in the Baxterian sense) and dissolve denominational boundaries was achieved cannot be

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[27] Jennings, *Two Discourses*, 75, 76.
[28] Activism is a key aspect of evangelicalism, and attention to individual action is one characteristic of enlightenment; see Bruce Hindmarch, 'Reshaping Individualism: The Private Christian, Eighteenth-Century Religion, and the Enlightenment', 67-84, (67).
[29] Another significant example is the English publication of Jonathan Edwards's account of the religious awakening in New England, which Watts and John Guyse edited. Jonathan Edwards, *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprizing work of God . . . In a Letter to the Revd. Dr. Benjamin Colman* (London, 1737). See Watts's letters to Benjamin Colman concerning the publication of the work, MHS *Proceedings,* 2nd ser, IX (1894-95), 349, 353, 356-7 and *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, IV: The Great Awakening*, ed. C. C. Goen (New Haven, 1972; rev. edn. 2009), 32-46.

measured, but the fact that the work was regularly reprinted suggests a sustained interest in its content. In 1744 another version of the materials was issued, described on the title page as 'published by David Jennings' and 'Recommended by Isaac Watts'.[30] As well as John Jennings's discourses, Francke's letter, Watts's two prefatory statements and David Jennings's prefaces, this edition includes an abridgement of the life of Cotton Mather, the seventeenth century religious leader in New England, written by his son Samuel and introduced by David Jennings.[31] The addition of this text consolidates all the themes and aims of the earlier versions of the work. Family bonds are reasserted as a driving force behind printed works. Along with the content of the work, this reaffirms the importance of community ties in pious projects, and the presence of the biography in the volume extends the network of knowledge and influence beyond Europe. The biography offers a practical pattern for Christian living and as such supplements the advice on preaching contained in John Jennings's discourses and the model of charitable behaviour embodied by Francke. The fact that the volume is now a handbook of resources and no longer only John Jennings's discourses is reflected in the new title: *Instructions to Ministers*.

Readers participated in the collaborative exchange of the work which the prefaces encouraged. In 1739, Watts sent copies to his correspondent in New England, Benjamin Colman, and requested that he give one to Harvard College 'for I think it a very usefull book for students, and wish they were more dispersed.'[32] Colman took this as a cue to publish an edition of the work in Boston, to which he added a statement describing the range of books donated by Watts which have 'inrich'd both our *Colleges*'.[33] In this edition, the paratext reflects the international dimension of the pedagogic relationships promoted by

[30] *Instructions to Ministers*, ed. David Jennings (London, 1744).
[31] The original edition was Samuel Mather, *The Life of the very Reverend and Learned Cotton Mather D.D. & F.R.S.* (Boston, 1729). This was only published in Boston.
[32] Isaac Watts to Benjamin Colman, 13 November 1739. MHS *Proceedings*, 2nd ser, IX (1894-95), 371. Watts also sent copies of the 1744 edition, which included the 'Life of Cotton Mather' (404).
[33] Jennings, *Two Discourses* (Boston, 1740), 14. Colman evidently sent Watts a copy, for on 18 March 1740/1Watts acknowledged the usefulness of the edition: 'The use which you have made of my writings and Mr Jennings's by reprinting them at Boston demands my acknowledgmts. I fear, dear Sir, you sett my character and my services too high in your preface to the discourses of *Preaching Christ*.' MHS *Proceedings*, 2nd ser, IX (1894-95), 380.

Watts.[34] It also enacted interdenominational connections. One copy of the 1736 edition features a handwritten note from Philip Doddridge on the flyleaf: 'To the Rev^{d} M^{r} Jones From his most affec^{t} Brother & faithful humble Servant P. Doddridge'.[35] John Jones was a Church of England priest and religious controversialist with whom Doddridge corresponded on the question of conformity to the Church of England.[36] He had a tolerant attitude to religious difference, and his project to promote a spirit of openness in the church was sustained over several decades. The fact that Doddridge used *Two Discourses* as a token of friendship shows that the book could act as a conduit for promoting relations between the established church and dissenting denominations. By sending it to a sympathetic Church of England clergyman, Doddridge was inviting members of the established church to adopt dissenting preaching methods.

Across many reprints, in three significantly revised versions, and in different countries, *Two Discourses* was the site for publicising religious projects. Its authors, translators and editors sought to reform preaching to make it practical, affectionate yet not enthusiastic, and to introduce these aims to students and clerical audiences within dissent, in the Church of England, and in Europe and New England. They hoped to extend the audience for dissenting ideas about incorporating the example of Christ into one's daily life to the 'politer sort' (as John Jennings put it) and to international audiences. Its creators saw the book as embodying in print the significant aspect of dissenting culture which prized the use of personal communications between friends to express shared goals.

As well as contributing to projects designed to spread dissenting preaching and ministerial methods to trainee ministers, established ministers and the laity, Watts wrote prefaces and recommendations to works of practical piety and sermons including works by John Mason, John Reynolds, Samuel Clark, Matthew Henry, Benjamin Colman and Edward Hitchin. He did the same for narratives and biographical works (Jonathan Edwards's *Faithful Narrative* (1737); Thomas Halyburton's *Memoirs* (1718)); and for religious meditations

[34] Pratt, *Isaac Watts and the Gift of Books to Yale College*, 65-6. Nineteen copies were listed in the Yale College library catalogues.
[35] BL, shelfmark RB.23.a.1248.
[36] *Cal*. 481. Jones transcribed passages of *The Family Expositor*, perhaps to circulate among his parishioners: see DWL MS NCL L.1/6/154; *Cal*. 577. See also John Stephens, 'Jones, John (1700–1770)', *ODNB*.

(Elizabeth Rowe's *Devout Exercises of the Heart* (1738)).[37] The diversity of genres represented here indicates that these works do not necessarily share many features, yet Watts's introductions repeatedly articulate some key themes and always carefully identify the different groups of readers the work hopes to reach. In his recommendation to the *Select Remains* (1736) of the millenarian Church of England clergyman John Mason, he suggests that parents teach their children Mason's proverbs, extends the potential audience for a piece called *Serious Advice to Youth* beyond the group proposed by its title to 'all who sincerely desire to maintain a conscientious *Walk with God*', and suggests that 'The *Directions* and *Signs*, &c. may be useful to doubting and discourag'd Christians; and to all who make Conscience of the great Duty of Self-Examination'.[38] These readers are not grouped into conventional categories of the young, of ministers, of the learned and so on but are identified by their spiritual needs. Re-imagining reading communities is a recurrent tendency of Watts's prefaces, undertaken with the intention of making the works more directly relevant to the lives of potential readers at the same time as prompting them to self-examination.

Addressing a work's potential readers is a conventional strategy for any recommendatory preface, but the consistency of Watts's approach of grouping readers together and telling them how to use the work is remarkable, as is the unusual degree of specificity with which he addresses these groups. Introducing John Mason's *Remains*, he both reconfigures categories of readers, as described above, and visualises the locations for reading which a particular work might enter:

> I have often tho't, that this Collection of short Sentences, under various Heads, are very proper to attend Christians of the middle Rank of Life, either in the Parlour or the Kitchen, in the Shop or the Work-House; and for that End I have been a frequent Purchaser of them, to distribute in Families, among private Christians.[39]

Watts had a strong sense that the key aim of writing was the improvement of the reader, and that a single text might improve readers of different levels of

[37] Davis gives a list of recommendations and prefaces written by Watts: see Davis, *Isaac Watts*, 279-81.
[38] John Mason, *Select Remains* (London, 1736), x.
[39] Mason, *Select Remains*, 1.

education. Here, by imagining different scenes of reading, he proposes a range of circumstances in which the book might be useful. As well as directing the text to the 'Shop or the Work-House' and the mercantile readers such locations suggest, he proposes that 'serious Persons may find sufficient Matter to furnish them with frequent pious Meditations . . . & they may be as happily useful in the Retirements of the Closet.'[40] Not only do the locations for reading a work change according to the occupation of the reader, but so does the manner of reading. This is why Watts repeatedly praises the style of arranging a work under various 'Heads', even though, as he says: 'We have got such an extreme Aversion to the way of Writing used by our Fathers, that because they run their Heads up to *Nineteenthly*, and *Six-and-Twentiethly*, we are ashamed in our Day to say *Secondly* or *Thirdly*'. Watts regrets 'the Concealment of all Method' this trend has brought about.[41] His preference is to guide the reader. By offering a method, and a clear outline, a writer can address a diverse range of readers without fearing they will interpret the work incorrectly.[42]

In the preface to John Reynolds's *A Practical Discourse of Reconciliation between God and Man* (1729) Watts speaks of the process of editing in terms of its purpose being to open a work up to new readers:

> His *Compassionate Letter to the poorer Part of the Christian World*, discovers the greatest and most tender Affection to the Souls of poor perishing Sinners . . . In the last Edition of it, which he permitted to be printed by some of his Friends for charitable Purposes, he gave me leave to divide it into distinct Sections, and to change the Title-Page. I must confess I saw nothing in the Book which should confine it to the *Poor*: I thought it might be very useful to Persons of all Ranks and Degrees in the World, and especially to the younger Parts of Mankind: and therefore with his Permission I gave it a new Name, (viz.) *A Compassionate Address to the Christian World*; and I hope it will yet see the Light in many more Editions, by the charitable Benefactions of those who are dispos'd to spread abroad useful Books to promote the common Salvation.[43]

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[40] Mason, *Select Remains*, 1.
[41] Mason, *Select Remains*, x.
[42] There is also a commercial side to this: the wide audience Watts imagined implies a potentially strong market for the work. Watts was well aware of the financial benefits of publishing. In a letter to Doddridge about *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul* he joins with Lady Abney in urging Doddridge to 'make the best bargain with your Bookseller for Yourself'. Isaac Watts to Philip Doddridge, 10 April 1744. *Cal*. 963.
[43] Reynolds, *A Practical Discourse of Reconciliation*, x. The *Compassionate Letter* was a staple of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge among the Poor; see Isabel Rivers, 'The First

Re-titling a work so that it is not confined to one audience and seeking new distribution channels so that it can be diffused more widely are two of the strategies Watts adopted for finding plural audiences for a single work. In the prefaces he wrote, Watts set out his project: to use print to enhance people's spiritual lives at the same time as promoting positive mental habits for different categories of readers. He repackaged and condensed works, introduced texts from Germany and New England to English audiences, bought copies of cheap tracts to distribute to the poor, sent books to colleges overseas, and recommended particular writings in his sermons. These approaches informed Watts's own publications across different genres (including hymns, sermons and essays) which were written to develop the understanding of their readers.[44]

2. Watts's educational writings: methods and audiences

Watts had a broad view of what constituted instructive writing, and his works in this genre include *Logick*, *The Improvement of the Mind* and the *Philosophical Essays* (1733) as well as more simply-presented works such as *The Art of Reading and Writing English* (1721) and *A Short View of the Whole of Scripture History* (1732). Specifically religious instruction was offered in sermons, his annotated edition of the Westminster Assembly's catechism, and *An Humble Attempt for the Revival of Practical Religion among Christians* (1731). He and Doddridge discussed their educational and religious schemes in letters and articulated their shared concerns in print. Doddridge dedicated his 'Course of Serious and Practical Addresses' entitled *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul* (1745) to Watts, partly because the topic was one Watts himself had wanted to address: he had encouraged Doddridge to write the work, and he had tested out sections of the text on his household and servants to ensure that it was comprehensible to the full range of 'persons of every Character and

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Evangelical Tract Society', *Historical Journal*, 50, 1 (2007), 1-22 (9). In September 1736, Watts sent two copies to a missionary in New England to help in his work converting native Americans. MHS *Proceedings*, 2nd ser, IX (1894-95), 351.

[44] For a discussion of the logical patterning and didactic purpose of Watts's hymns, and a survey of his poetry and educational writings, see John Laird, 'Concerning Isaac Watts', in *Philosophical Incursions into English Literature* (Cambridge, 1946), 52-73.

Circumstance' invited by the title page.[45] The dedication acts as a tribute to Watts. Doddridge praises him for the reach of his influence, his grasp of different forms, and his ability to use these forms to address different readers. In a metonymic move, Doddridge depicts Watts's texts undertaking Watts's tasks:

> While You are in a Multitude of *Families*, and *Schools* of the lower Class, condescending to the humble, yet important Work of forming Infant Minds to the first Rudiments of Religious Knowledge and devout Impressions by your various *Catechisms* and *Divine Songs*, You are also daily reading Lectures of *Logick*, and other useful Branches of *Philosophy* to studious Youth . . . I congratulate you, that You are teaching no doubt Hundreds of *Ministers*, and Thousands of *private Christians*, by your *Sermons*, and other *Theological Writings*.[46]

Watts is presented as a personal teacher and adviser to children, ministers, university students and 'thousands of private Christians'. To Doddridge it is the combination of the specificity of personal engagement with each reader at the same time as the wide range of audiences addressed which is the key feature of Watts's works. Through his affectionate address to Watts, Doddridge is emphasising the particularity of Watts's approach. At the same time, he is presenting a moment of shared endeavour undertaken by members of the same community to the wider world. Perhaps there is an element of expedience here – Doddridge is advertising one person's writings in the preface to his own and hence widening the potential audience for both – but a second, more complex, aim is being enacted too. Doddridge and Watts were not unique for their desire to spread the ideas and practices of dissent beyond their own community, while presenting the character of dissent as guiding their work. But unlike dissenters who wrote learned works aimed at scholarly audiences, they sought fresh audiences and addressed ordinary people in texts designed to encourage their readers to unite spiritual and daily life.[47] Watts and Doddridge did not only address the learned or the polite, and they attempted particularly to show their

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[45] *Cal*. 945, 963.
[46] Doddridge, *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*, v-vi. See also Rivers, *Reason, Grace and Sentiment*, I, 174.
[47] Printed works designed in part to showcase dissenting learning include Daniel Neal, *The History of New England*, 3 vols. (London, 1720) and *The History of the Puritans*, 4 vols. (London, 1732-38); Nathaniel Lardner, *The Credibility of Gospel History*, 2 vols. (London, 1727). In its final form, this work ran to twelve volumes (London, 1748-60).

audiences ways of approaching their works. In his dedication to *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*, Doddridge expresses a wide conception of what constitutes a 'work', and encompasses a community of participants in its production. He stresses that a single work is not a solitary act but part of a network of texts, writers, readers and listeners. This sense of collectivity – a feature of dissenters' self-presentation – partly accounts for Watts's emphasis on the importance of method: if dissenters are producing new kinds of texts, which encourage and diffuse new kinds of religious and intellectual experiences, a new way of encountering them is required. If freedom of enquiry is to be encouraged (as it was by John Jennings and Philip Doddridge in their academies) those engaged in the enquiry must be trained in appropriate methods for accessing and understanding materials. They must learn 'the right use of reason', in the words of the subtitle to *Logick*.

As Rivers notes, in *The Strength and Weakness of Human Reason* (1731) Watts discusses 'whether reason is an adequate guide to religion, morality and happiness'.[48] This topic lies at the heart of Watts's writings and his conclusion, broadly, is that it is. Rivers points out that while Watts claims his decision to cast this enquiry in the form of a dialogue between 'an inquiring deist' and 'a Christian divine' invites debate and the use of reason on the part of his readers, the static actuality of a printed text does not, in fact, permit his conclusions to be questioned. Rather, the model of courteous and well informed debate between two men of opposing views is one to imitate. Watts's works train readers to think critically, and he frames this project within an investigation of two key terms for intellectual enquiry: 'reason' and 'method'. It is in order to create an intellectual climate of curiosity driven investigation and aversion to dogmatic acceptance of received opinion that Watts devotes himself to training the mind in the 'right use of reason' and in open-minded discussion. Watts's hope that reason and method will be used to seek out truth underlies his educational textbooks such as *Logick* and *The Improvement of the Mind* as well as his work of advice to preachers and congregations, *An Humble Attempt towards the Revival of Practical Religion*

[48] Rivers, *Reason, Grace and Sentiment*, I, 180. In his religious poetry, Watts emphasises that reason alone is not sufficient for full religious understanding. See J. R. Watson, 'The Hymns of Isaac Watts and the Tradition of Dissent', forthcoming in *Dissenting Praise*: *Religious Dissent and the Hymn in England and Wales*, ed. Isabel Rivers and David L. Wykes (Oxford, forthcoming 2011). I am grateful to the editors for making this chapter available before publication.

among Christians.[49] The form and content of *An Humble Attempt* demonstrate Watts's method for expressing difference of opinion in a way that is designed to be productive, rather than antagonistic. It is written in response to Strickland Gough's *Enquiry into the Causes of the Decay of the Dissenting Interest*, but Watts chooses not to make direct reference to Gough's work, although the piece is evidently structured around Gough's arguments. *An Humble Attempt* enacts precisely those processes of careful consideration of a problem and due attention to arguments on both sides that he advocates as the means to tolerant discourse. By presenting his response in the form of suggestions for preachers, Watts demonstrates that he has taken on board Gough's remarks and is working to achieve a solution through practical means. Rather than engage in controversial tit-for-tat, Watts uses Gough's incitement as an opportunity to offer guidance. Like Doddridge in *Free Thoughts On the Most Probable Means of Reviving the Dissenting Interest*, Watts outlines what the preacher can do to encourage his hearers to benefit from the sermons they hear, and how dissenting congregations should conduct themselves. It is a more practical resource for dissenters, and is more likely to effect change, than Gough's negative commentary on the state of dissent.

In *An Humble Attempt*, Watts extends Gough's debate beyond a group of fractious ministers by including ordinary members of dissenting congregations in his address and inviting them all to consider the character of dissent. He can have confidence in the rational strategies of his readers because he has already, in *Logick*, presented methods for training the understanding. *Logick* provides readers with the tools for developing their own critical inquiries. It is more concerned to guide students through the principles of free enquiry and give examples of how to apply these to their own thought than it is in theorising the operations of the mind in abstraction. Its four-part structure resembles that of Arnauld's and Nicole's logic (1662; better known as the Port Royal logic), while the categories into which it divides logic – perception, judgement, argumentation, disposition – echo Jean Le Clerc's Latin *Logica* (1692), which introduces the theory of ideas, judgement, method and argument.[50] Both Arnauld

[49] Rivers, *Reason, Grace and Sentiment*, I, 180.
[50] Antoine Arnauld and Pierre Nicole, *Logique, ou l'Art de Penser* (Paris, 1662). The first edition published in England was *Logica, sive ars cogitandi* (London, 1674); the first edition in English

and Le Clerc attacked Aristotle. Watts, in his Preface to *Philosophical Essays* (1733), praises Descartes (with some reservations), Newton, Gassendi, Bacon and Boyle in specifically anti-Aristotelian terms:

> they all carried on the noble design of freeing the world from the slavery of Aristotle and substantial forms, of occult qualities, and words without ideas. They taught mankind to trace out truth by reasoning and experiment.[51]

Watts locates his intellectual efforts within a tradition of empirically based natural philosophy guided by rational enquiry.[52] The methods for conducting such inquiries are laid out in *Logick*, whose purpose Watts articulates in a phrase which conflates the discipline and his book: 'Logick helps us to strip off the outward disguise of things'.[53] In *Logick* Watts draws heavily on Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), by taking Locke's inquiries as the starting point for each section, and following the Lockean method of providing a series of examples to illustrate the workings of particular operations. Watts reconfigures Locke's *Essay* into an educational sourcebook by making the examples simpler, more direct and more frequent, and by paraphrasing Locke's text and giving references to it (particularly Book II 'Of Ideas'). He also emphasizes the religious applications of the process by inserting examples which speak to contemporary denominational conflicts throughout *Logick*. For example, the proposition that all ideas must be true or false is illustrated by contrasting Roman Catholic and Protestant understandings of the word 'church' and 'sacraments'.[54] In an account of the inexact relationship between words and ideas he uses the word 'bishop' and its French form 'evêque' to 'propose one single instance, wherein all these notes shall be remarkably exemplified', then makes six points about 'Words in general, and their uses' and ends the section

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was published in 1685; the last English edition in 1727. See also Jean Le Clerc, *Logica, sive ars ratiocinandi* (London, 1692). Le Clerc was used at several dissenting academies. I am grateful to Mark Burden for providing information about Arnaud, Le Clerc and logic teaching at dissenting academies.

[51] Watts, *Works*, V, 502.

[52] As his choice of English examplars suggests, this tradition was identified with the work of the Royal Society, which gained its charter in 1662.

[53] Watts, *Works*, V, 2.

[54] Watts, *Works*, V, 24.

with a discourse on the function of an episcopate.[55] Elsewhere, Watts's examples reaffirm the majesty of God rather more triumphantly than we find in Locke's *Essay*, and the whole work is framed by Watts's opening declaration that '*Reason*, as to the *Power and Principle* of it, is the common Gift of God to all Men'.[56] This optimistic conviction is central to Watts's practice of weaving together religion and education, and in *Logick*, Watts uses Locke's methods to develop a method of logic training which embraces evangelical nonconformity.

After Watts's *Logick* had won some recognition in the universities, Edward Bentham (the Oxford theology professor later to question the use of the mathematical method for teaching moral philosophy) published *Reflections Upon the Nature and Usefulness of Logick* (1740). This work divides logic into the traditional three branches: the first of preparatory rules, which includes the ten Aristotelian 'predicaments'; secondly a section on the agreement and disagreement of ideas; and thirdly syllogistic logic. His summary of other methods of logic training vigorously condemns Locke's (and Watts's) approach:

> enquiries into the nature of our Souls, our Sensations, our Passions and Prejudices, with other springs of wrong judgement, make a part of the natural History of Man, rather than a part of Logick, and are of too mixed a nature to fall under general rules.[57]

The connection Watts approvingly made between the investigations of natural scientists and those of philosophers is noted with suspicion by Bentham, who categorically rejects the notion that this mode of enquiry forms a branch of logic. Though he does not mention Watts directly, it appears that Bentham was attempting to preserve logic as an abstract study, and that he was suspicious of the freedom Watts's method allowed students, with its emphasis on reading widely and forming one's own deductions. He distrusted Watts's methodical approach which allowed four different parts of logic to be used for different enquiries, for he thought that the *three* parts of logic were naturally subservient

[55] Watts, *Works*, V, 26-7.
[56] Watts, *Works*, V, 1.
[57] Edward Bentham, *Reflections Upon the Nature and Usefulness of Logick* (Oxford, 1740), 7.

to each other and should not be separated. To Bentham, the form of logic promoted by Locke and later Watts is properly part of moral philosophy.[58]

As this summary suggests, the kind of logic Bentham was attempting to preserve had very little connection to Watts's, so it is particularly striking that Watts's *Logick* was in the possession of a student of Bentham's college, Oriel, in 1750.[59] Despite the disapproval of some tutors, Watts's methods were known to university students, who could access a range of systems of logic: they could read courses such as Watts's at the same time as hearing lectures which followed the Aristotelian model or learning from their tutors to take Bentham's approach to logic. Unlike Bentham's, Watts's system welcomed this, for it actively encouraged students to seek out opinions which differed from their own, and could not be destabilised by attacks from Bentham precisely because it invited students to use their reason to reach their own decisions. Through *Logick*, Watts's arguments about religious toleration and freedom of conscience circulated among university students.

Bentham later published *An Introduction to Logick: Scholastick and Rational* (1773) which attempted to integrate the two approaches. It structured the study around the Aristotelian tripartite division of logic, but declared the intellectual primacy of sense-based observation of the world as the starting point for logic.[60] The mode of presentation is reminiscent of Watts's work, for it adopts a clear sequential development of ideas from simple to complex, and presents the information in short sentences and clear language. The use of Watts's works, and the influence of his style on Bentham's own later works, indicate that although he wrote from outside the Anglican educational establishment, Watts's methods took root within it.[61] One of Bentham's reasons for writing his *Introduction to Logick* may have been to supply a guide to the methods which had become popular with students which was emptied of Watts's nonconformist views of church and state government.

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[58] Doddridge made this type of logic part of pneumatology, and part I of *A Course of Lectures* (1764) contains many references to Watts's *Logick*.

[59] A copy of the 1745 edition is inscribed on the flyleaf: 'G. Wetherson Coll: Oriell 1750'. BL, shelfmark 1509/2353. In the second edition of *Reflections Upon Logick* (Oxford, 1755), Bentham added 'A table of the several principal writers in Logic' which included Watts.

[60] Edward Bentham, *An Introduction to Logick: Scholastick and Rational* (Oxford, 1773).

[61] Yolton suggests that increasing use of logic texts by Watts and William Duncan was representative of a shift in purpose of logic teaching at Oxford: see J. Yolton, 'Schoolmen, Logic and Philosophy', 565-92 (591).

Even in works that are not primarily religious or controversial, Watts articulates his position on religious freedom and finds, via Locke, that religious toleration has an emphatically rational basis. In the preface to *Philosophical Essays* he writes:

> His admirable Letter of *Toleration* led me as it were into a new Region of Thought, wherein I found myself surprised and charm'd with Truth. There was no Room to doubt in the midst of Sun-beams. These Leaves triumph'd over all the Remnant of my Prejudices on the side of *Bigotry*, and taught me to allow all Men the same Freedom to chuse their Religion, as I claim to chuse my own. Blessed be God that this Doctrine has now taken such Root in *Great-Britain*.[62]

The *Philosophical Essays* pay great attention to evidence for God's creation in the natural world, and Watts's recurrent favouring of natural metaphors here – sun-beams, leaves, 'taken such Root' – uses a particular lexical set to knit Locke's arguments in favour of religious toleration and the subjects addressed in the *Philosophical Essays* together. Watts ignores any separation between different categories, and encourages the reader to connect freedom of worship with freedom of enquiry:

> The man who has laboured to lead the world into freedom of thought, has thereby given a large permission to his readers to propose what doubts, difficulties or remarks have arisen in their minds, while they peruse what he has written.[63]

In this preface, Watts articulates the potential of Locke's ideas for new modes of intellectual engagement, while the work itself demonstrates how this might be done. Unlike the practical instructions offered in *Logick*, these twelve essays address more abstract questions. They link the physical and the spiritual worlds by interrogating the origins of ideas, the existence of spirits and the activities of the soul, as well as investigating the nature and workings of light or plants. The aim of the *Philosophical Essays* is partly to introduce Lockean ideas to a new audience, but particularly to explore how Locke's challenges to epistemology might affect the kinds of thinking possible.

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[62] Watts, *Works*, V, 503.
[63] Watts, *Works*, V, 503.

In Watts's scheme, knowledge of the natural world is important for how it helps man to understand God and as demonstration of God's omnipotence and wisdom, and Watts pursues questions about the world according to an experiential method of enquiry. For example, in the course of a discussion of Locke's views on vitality and identity, Watts asks: 'When the graft of a pearmain has grown three months or even years upon the stock of a crab, is it the same tree?'[64] In choosing this example of the practice of using the hardy crab variety as the rootstock for varieties of mealy fleshed eating apples for his query, Watts is, like Locke, rooting his enquiry in the visible, natural world. He opens up the work to the experiential knowledge of readers, and his questioning style invites their responses.[65]

This opportunity was seized enthusiastically by one reader of the *Philosophical Essays*, Hester Piozzi (formerly Hester Thrale).[66] Between 1798 and 1800, she annotated an early edition of the *Philosophical Essays*. Her annotations are striking for the breadth of knowledge on theological, artistic, horticultural and social topics she applied to the ideas developed in the text. For example, alongside Watts's question about the pearmain Piozzi observes:

> A *Crategus Aria Theophrasti* will grow in England no way – but inoculated into a Thorn: in three or four years like the Cuckoo it kills its Parent, and flourishes up a fine king of the Poplars. I planted several so myself at Streatham Park.[67]

Her response to Watts's question is grounded in her own horticultural experience, while her conclusion is expressed figuratively through the trope of the cuckoo. This combination of practical knowledge and imaginative engagement with the ideas is evident throughout her annotations, which consistently address Watts personally. At points, her copy of the text takes the form of a dialogue with the *Essays*' author. In a discussion of the operations of plants, Watts writes: 'Colouring in its original Glory and Perfection triumphs

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[64] Watts, *Works*, V, 627.
[65] Pratt gives examples of students noting their approval for the *Philosophical Essays* on its pages, such as 'the Man that Liketh not this Book is a Whipple-swick': see Pratt, *Isaac Watts and his Gift of Books to Yale College*, 25.
[66] Hester Salusbury married Henry Thrale in 1763. He died in 1781 and in 1784 she married Gabriel Mario Piozzi. In this chapter, she is identified by the name she held at the particular moment being described. See Michael J. Franklin, 'Piozzi , Hester Lynch (1741–1821)', *ODNB*.
[67] James P. R. Lyell, *Mrs. Piozzi and Isaac Watts* (London, 1934), 41.

here; Red, Yellow, Green, Blue, Purple, with vastly more Diversities than the Rainbow ever knew, or the Prism can represent'.[68] Piozzi responds in a playful tone: 'Not so my dear Doctor; In the Prism & Rainbow *every* colour is contained, and you know that better than poor H. L. P. only the Subject runs away with you'.[69] Direct replies follow Watts's questions in 'A brief scheme of Ontology': 'Is a bat a bird or a beast? Is every monster to be called a man which is born of a woman?', to which Piozzi responds: '(i) A beast (ii) Yes'.[70] Elsewhere she uses anecdotes to provide additional perspectives on the points raised, as when Watts writes 'there are some original Particles of an animal Body, which continue from its birth to its death . . . and these may probably continue the same even till the great resurrection', and she notes: 'Mr. Hogarth told me that the Eye never grew larger from Birth to Death, and in effect we see children with fine eyes as we call them – a Thousand Times for once that we admire Men's and Women's eyes; only (as he said) because they looked larger and finer among the infant's features, than among the features of a grown person'.[71]

Following Watts's analogy between space and shade, Piozzi writes: 'Much of our Difficulty (as Beattie says) proceeds from Language: We use the word Nothing in a positive sense one Minute, in another Minute we treat it as mere Privation – yet to the *Grammarian* as to every other SCHOLAR The *Thing* Space is incomprehensible, be the Words what they may be in which we discourse upon it.'[72] Here she is applying the ideas of a philosopher whose writings were published after Watts's death to interrogate the reasons behind disparity between definitions of 'space'. Her incursion into the discourse does not answer Watts's query, but puts Beattie (like Watts, both a poet and a philosophical writer) into contact with Watts. Piozzi followed Watts's practice of dissolving social and generic boundaries around a text and among its readers, and she populates Watts's discourses with fashionable and learned individuals of her own day: Hogarth's artistic eye and Beattie's moral philosophy contribute to Watts's observations via her annotations. Piozzi was a wealthy patron of artists

[68] Watts, *Works*, V, 595.
[69] Lyell, *Mrs. Piozzi and Isaac Watts*, 37.
[70] Watts, *Works*, V, 641. Lyell, *Mrs. Piozzi and Isaac Watts*, 42.
[71] Watts, *Works*, V, 631. Lyell, *Mrs. Piozzi and Isaac Watts*, 42.
[72] Watts, *Works*, V, 519-21. Lyell, *Mrs. Piozzi and Isaac Watts*, 26. James Beattie, *An Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth* (Edinburgh and London, 1770), 'Introduction'. See Roger J. Robinson, 'Beattie, James (1735–1803)' *ODNB*.

and an unusually highly educated woman. She is an example of a female adult actively reading Watts's intellectual works at the turn of the nineteenth century. It is striking that she responded to his *way* of thinking as much as to the specific ideas, and she synthesised different types of knowledge to address abstract questions. She practised just the kind of engagement that Watts's pedagogy, with its emphasis on individual reasoning, invited.

The Improvement of the Mind is a survey of study techniques and recommendations for ways of learning which includes sections on memorising, conversing with learned people, commonplacing, and wide reading. As well as giving practical advice, in it Watts reminds readers to reflect on the manner and purpose of their learning. At the beginning of 'The Conduct of the Understanding', Locke remarks 'it easy to perceive that Men are guilty of a great many Faults in the Exercise and Improvement of this faculty of the Mind, which hinder them in their Progress and keep them in Ignorance and Error all their Lives'.[73] *The Improvement of the Mind* is Watts's attempt to show students how to avoid these faults. It encourages wide reading, diverse conversation and the exercise of the intellectual faculties; the kinds of understanding that Piozzi demonstrates in her responses to the *Philosophical Essays*. Robert DeMaria draws attention to these aspect of Watts's educational theory in *Samuel Johnson and the Life of Reading*. He notes Watts's influence on the reading practices of Piozzi's friend Samuel Johnson, who promoted Watts's suggestion of annotating books in various locations.[74]

Fresh material by Watts on the subject of learning was still appearing in the middle of the eighteenth century, for the second part of *The Improvement of the Mind* appeared in the *Works* of 1753, and was published as the leading item in a single volume of Watts's *Posthumous Works* in 1754. Given also that *The Improvement of the Mind* was reprinted regularly well into the nineteenth century, it seems that to confine Watts's educational works to 'the early eighteenth century' (as DeMaria does) might restrict our sense of their influence. Indeed, Watts is important to DeMaria's thesis in a way which is not fully articulated by DeMaria himself. He claims that Johnson was both the exemplary reader of his age, and an influence on his reading contemporaries. DeMaria

[73] Locke, 'The Conduct of the Understanding', 6.
[74] See DeMaria, *Samuel Johnson and the Life of Reading*, 24-5.

proposes that his approach in describing Johnson's 'life of reading' might inform other studies of eighteenth-century reading. This suggests that Watts's pedagogic works should take a central place both in the study of Johnson's intellectual life and in future inquiries into eighteenth-century reading practices. As DeMaria points out, Watts's ideas influenced Johnson's conception of the *Dictionary* as a single work that would perform multiple functions as an encyclopaedia, an educational text, and a work of moral guidance. Johnson attempted where possible to provide quotations for definitions which would 'besides illustrating the meanings of words, teach fundamental points of morality.'[75]

Johnson also valued *The Improvement of the Mind* for the moral edification it could offer, and recommended it to female acquaintances. In 1781 he wrote to Hester Thrale from Lichfield:

> I have here but a dull scene. Poor Lucy's health is very much broken. She takes very little of either food or exercise, and her hearing is very dull, and her utterance confused; but she will have *Watts's Improvement of the Mind*. Her mental powers are not impaired, and her social virtues seem to increase. She never was so civil to me before.[76]

To which she replied:

> I am glad Watts's Improvement of the Mind is a favourite book among the Litchfield ladies: it is so pious, so wise, so easy a book to read for any person, and so useful, nay necessary, are its precepts to us all, that I never cease recommending it to our young ones. 'Tis *a la portée de chacun* so, yet never vulgar; but Law beats him for wit; and the names are never happy in Watts some-how. I fancy there was no comparison between the scholastick learning of the two writers; but there is prodigious knowledge of the human heart, and perfect acquaintance with common life, in the Serious Call.[77]

Johnson's formulation implies that his stepdaughter 'Poor Lucy's' ill health and reading of Watts have combined to improve her 'social virtues'. Hester Thrale's

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[75] DeMaria, *Johnson's Dictionary and the Language of Learning*, 20. DeMaria's example here is from Watts's definition of the word 'sorites': '*Sorites* is when several middle terms are chosen to connect one another successively in several propositions, till the last proposition connects its predicate with the first subject. Thus all men of revenge have their souls often uneasy; uneasy souls are a plague to themselves; now to be one's own plague is folly in the extreme'.
[76] Samuel Johnson to Hester Thrale, 31 October 1781. *Letters to and from the Late Samuel Johnson*, ed. Hester Piozzi, 2 vols. (London, 1788), II, 211.
[77] Hester Thrale to Samuel Johnson, 2 November 1781. *Letters*, II, 214. Thrale refers to William Law, *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* (London, 1729).

response makes it clear that the qualities she admires in the work are its simplicity and its piety, reminding us that a compendium of study skills could be read as a guide to moral comportment; the title invites such a use, for the word 'improvement' could scarcely escape moral associations. Here a seventy-two year old man encourages an elderly woman to read a book for students written forty years earlier, and another adult woman compares it to William Law's work of practical piety. The scenario evokes the varied audiences for Watts's pedagogic writings and the different uses to which they could be put.

Watts's priority was to express to his readers the importance of free enquiry to rational thought, and his techniques for training the mind so that it can conduct these inquiries in a logical way are evident in his works of instruction which are particularly for the use of children. *The Art of Reading and Writing English* (1721) is a foundation level primer in language, which follows a question-and-answer format which would be familiar to juvenile readers from their religious catechisms. 'What is reading?' the work begins, and answers 'To read, is to express written or printed words by their proper sound'.[78] It follows a strictly sequential structure, in which every question is related to the one before. The second question, for example, is 'What are words made of?'; 'Words are made of letters and syllables' comes the answer, and the next two questions are 'What is a letter?' and 'What is a syllable?'[79] Threaded through the question-and-answer structure are notes addressed to the teacher or parent of the child-learner:

> Note, the following chapters, as far as the tenth, may be read by children two or three times over; but they should not be put to the task of learning them by heart. Yet if the master thinks proper to mark out a few of the most useful questions in them for his scholars to learn, he must use his own discretion in choosing them; and thus proceed to the tenth chapter.[80]

Here and elsewhere, Watts supplements the clear information given to the child with guidance to the teacher about how to use the information: whether it should be memorised, which sections are worth revising, ways of summarising the text.

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[78] Watts, *Works*, IV, 653. Barbara Benedict sees *The Art of Reading and Writing English* as a guide to navigating physical books which fuses social, moral and aesthetic values. See Benedict, *Making the Modern Reader*, 186-9.
[79] Watts, *Works*, IV, 653.
[80] Watts, *Works*, IV, 655.

As these examples show, the work is practical in its approach both for learner and teacher, and addresses the two within a single text. The work provides a thorough grounding in the structure and use of language, but is also a basic course in Watts's method of learning. Children brought up with Watts's straightforward step-by-step method would be prepared for applying his practices to other modes of learning.

Watts does so himself in *A Short View of the Whole Scripture History* (1732). This also follows a question-and-answer structure which outlines the narrative of the Old and New Testaments (emphasising the historical accuracy of the accounts therein) and offers suggestions for the instruction and profit young readers might gain from the narratives. The work remained in use until at least the mid-nineteenth century. William Arthur Case (1818-72), who ran an elementary school in Hampstead, read and annotated a copy of the 1820 edition ('the 26th') in such a way that it appears he was preparing the text to be dictated to students.[81] He numbers sections of the text and sometimes adds notes to Watts's text. These notes usually add detail but do not alter Watts's points. For example, Watts alerts readers to the affective potential of scriptural accounts of Christ, saying: 'The sufferings of Christ also, and his meekness and patience under the contempt, reproaches, and persecution he met with . . . death . . . burial . . . resurrection . . . are all spoken of in that admirable chapter, *Isa*. liii which I desire my readers to peruse in this place . . . it did actually convince that wild and atheistical nobleman the earl of Rochester, in the last age of the truth of the Gospel'.[82] Here Case notes: 'In the profligate reign of Charles II. When after the overstraining religion of the commonwealth, the bow was beat the other way'.[83]

Watts's example of Rochester personifies a faith in the power of language to move even the most hopeless of sinners. Watts believed that the harmony between the accounts of Scripture and the historical record would satisfy

[81] The DWL copy of the 1820 edition (shelfmark 1022.D.6) bears a bookplate saying: 'Presented by Miss Case from the Library of the late W.A. Case Esq. 1895'. William Arthur Case (1818-1872) was a schoolmaster and fellow of University College London. He ran a co-educational school with his wife at Heath Brow, Hampstead. His daughter, Janet, was Virginia Woolf's Latin teacher. See Kate Perry, 'Case, Janet Elizabeth (1863–1937)' *ODNB*.
[82] Watts, *Works*, III, 444. Watts's source for this information is Gilbert Burnet, *Some Passages of the Life and Death of the Right Honourable John, Earl of Rochester* (London, 1680).
[83] Case's annotation to *A Short View of the Whole Scripture History* (London, 1820), 234.

inquiring minds as to the truth of Christianity, a practice he articulated in reference to his sermons:

> I have not entertained you with lectures of philosophy instead of the gospel of Christ; nor have I affected that easy indolence of style, which is the cold and insipid pleasure of men who pretend to politeness. You know it has always been the business of my ministry to convince and persuade your souls into practical godliness, by the clearest and strongest reasons derived from the gospel, and by all the most moving methods of speech of which I was capable.[84]

Watts's explicit association of two kinds of persuasion – that of language, and that of reason – can be seen as the motif for his own practical and educational writings, which sought to offer clear explanations, and models for styles of writing and enquiry, to audiences that were specifically not part of the higher social realm of 'men who pretend to politeness'. These fashionable individuals are also excluded from the audience Watts addresses in his preface to Halyburton's *Memoirs* (1718), when he says: 'I will not recommend this Book to the nice and critical Part of the World that have no Taste of inward Religion, and relish nothing but what is polite and modish', using the vocabulary of gentility and popular periodicals such as the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* negatively, to create a distance between the artifice of polite society characterised by urbanity and polish and the straightforward, methodical reader of practical works of religion.[85] Watts's educational works, which do not necessarily have a specifically or primarily religious agenda, but demonstrate his view that religion and learning cannot be separated, similarly promote the importance of intellectually rigorous methods in the formation of persons of learning.

Watts intended his works to be understood and used by non-specialist readers. The fact that he mediated Locke's ideas for an audience who may well not have read Locke themselves, for example, or responded to Strickland Gough in a form that he hoped would be read by members of dissenting congregations who were not familiar with Gough's attack on dissenting manners, means that his own strategies and positions were as likely to influence the people reading them as were the works to which Watts responded. In the case of Locke, this is

[84] Watts, *Works*, I, xxi.
[85] Isaac Watts, 'The Recommendation' to Thomas Halyburton, *Memoirs of the Life of the Reverend, Learned and Pious Mr. Thomas Halyburton* (London, 1718), viii.

particularly important: Watts does not uncritically simplify Locke, but contests some of his conclusions, and shapes Locke's arguments about the centrality of reason and observation around his own priorities for promoting practical religion. He disseminates Locke's methods while modifying his ideas, and explicitly invites his readers to do the same. Watts's invitation to readers even of the lowest station to reason freely, viewed in conjunction with the effect of diffusing Locke's ideas to readers not originally addressed by Locke, can be seen to generate a more accessible kind of intellectual culture. Some of Watts's biographers praised him for this, including Samuel Johnson:

> He has provided instruction for all ages; from those who are lisping their first lessons to the profound inquirers into moral philosophy . . . Every man acquainted with the common principles of human action, will look with veneration on the writer who is at one time combating LOCKE, and at another making a catechism for children in their fourth year.[86]

But Watts was not consciously conducting a radically equalizing project. One of the first things he says in 'A Discourse on the Education of Children and Youth' (1753) is:

> I limit these instructions . . . by the *station* and *rank in life* in which children are born and placed by the providence of God. Persons of better circumstances in the world, should give their sons and their daughters a much larger share of knowledge and a richer variety of instruction, than meaner persons can or ought.[87]

This conventional reiteration of the requirement to behave appropriately to one's station can be understood with reference to Watts's imagined uses of John Reynolds's *A Practical Discourse of Reconciliation*, for Watts situates Reynolds' book in both the workshop and the closet, and insists that it is equally suited to both as long as its readers in each location approach it in a fitting manner. Learning, to Watts, is available to all as long as its primary purpose is kept in mind: it must deepen the reader's understanding of God's work. But despite his conservative claims, in both his words and the physical appearance and

[86] Samuel Johnson, 'Life of Watts', in *Prefaces, Biographical and Critical, to the Works of the English Poets*, 10 vols. (London, 1779-81), VIII, 1-24 (16). Note that Johnson presents Watts as an opponent of Locke.
[87] Watts, *Works*, V, 360.

dissemination of his works, Watts *does* make learning more widely available. Small, relatively cheap editions of his works were published, which he distributed freely.[88]

He reached great numbers of people because of the variety of genres in which he chose to write, so that a university student unlikely to read a dissenter's sermon, for example, would encounter Watts in an educational text, or a devout woman of the middling 'rank' (in Watts's term) unlikely to peruse the *Philosophical Essays* could learn from *A Humble Attempt*.[89] His preaching (though often interrupted by ill-health) was another channel through which Watts could spread his ideas, and his hymns were an important vehicle for the transmission of his religious principles. This combination of forms and modes accounts for the extraordinary reach of Watts's ideas and affirms Doddridge's assertion in the dedication to *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul* that 'You are teaching no doubt Hundreds of *Ministers*, and Thousands of *private Christians*'.[90] Doddridge's dedication, which attests to their shared purpose and demonstrates their friendship, was composed a couple of years before Watts died. Doddridge was one of the editors of Watts's collected *Works*, published after his death in six crown quarto volumes. This expensive and high status publication was more in the style of Doddridge's *Family Expositor* than any of the works Watts had published in his lifetime. Doddridge was in sympathy with Watts's aims and his ways of achieving them, but he and others intended to use the *Works* to assure Watts's reputation, which required some reconfiguration of Watts's project.

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[88] For example, he sent a 'large packett' of copies of *The Improvement of the Mind* to Colman 'to be distributed to many persons among you'. Isaac Watts to Benjamin Colman, 14 July 1741. *MHS Proceedings*, 2nd ser, IX (1894-95), 385.

[89] Readers of Watts's *Logick* listed in the *Reading Experience Database* include Elizabeth Gurney (later Elizabeth Fry) who read it in 1798 at the age of eighteen (*Reading Experience Database* record 22323); Thomas Green, an Anglican gentleman who read it in 1799 at the age of thirty (*Reading Experience Database* record 13222); and Joseph Jenkinson, a Methodist artisan who read it in 1839 at the age of twenty-nine (*Reading Experience Database* record 9851). A sixteen-year-old boy in a workhouse who was familiar with Watts's hymns was interviewed by Henry Mayhew in 1859 (*Reading Experience Database* record 1289). URL: <http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/>.

[90] Doddridge, *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*, vi.

3. Watts's *Works* 1748-1753: editorial negotiations

Isaac Watts died on 25 November 1748 at the age of seventy-four. During his final illness Doddridge exchanged frequent letters with Watts's secretary Joseph Parker in order to keep informed about Watts's condition. The personal relationship between Doddridge and Watts suffered strain at the end of Watts's life, triggered by bouts of confusion in which Watts rejected the company and sympathy of his old companions, and this exacerbated Doddridge's anxiety.[91] On 29 November, Nathaniel Neal wrote to Philip Doddridge to communicate the contents of Watts's will:

> I could not, in friendship, avoid writing you a line, to inform you that the Doctor has made his brother Enoch and myself executors to his will, having left the bulk of his estate to his brother and sister Brackstone and her children. The will bears the date the 23d of July, 1746, and contains the following clause: "And as to all my Manuscripts of every kind, I give the same to Mr. David Jennings and Dr. Philip Doddridge, in order that they may publish such of them as I shall, by any paper or memorandum, signify my desire should be published; and as to the remainder, either to publish or suppress them, as they shall judge best. But I desire that such as shall be published shall have the attestation of their names prefixed, to satisfy the world they are genuine: and I empower my executors to make them such acknowledgment and recompense out of my estate for their trouble in revising and publishing such manuscripts as they shall think proper." I question whether there are any left which he has ordered to be published.[92]

Watts had written numerous controversial pieces examining the doctrine of the Trinity, and correctly anticipated that his beliefs would be debated after his death.[93] His appointment of David Jennings and Philip Doddridge as his editors, and his request that their names be used to authorise his works, demonstrates his faith in their reputations. Both men had benefited from Watts's support and

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[91] See *Cal*. 1177, 1181 (both August 1746).

[92] Nathaniel Neal to Philip Doddridge, 29 November 1748. *Cal.* 1424; Humphreys, V, 84. Watts's assets included £2700, plus books, paintings, prints, maps and mathematical instruments. A sale of his library and the publication of the accompanying catalogue was advertised in London newspapers, according to which the sale took place on 5 March 1749. A copy of this document survives at the University of Chicago, shelfmark Z997.M95. The extensive part of Watts's library acquired by his assistant Joseph Parker is now at DWL.

[93] He considered his controversial writings separately from his sermons, poetry and pedagogical works, and tended not to send copies to educational institutions, for 'I would not be charged with leading youth into heresie.' Isaac Watts to Benjamin Colman, 4-5 March 1729/30. MHS *Proceedings*, 2nd ser, IX (1894-95), 332.

reputation in the early stages of their careers as tutors, and Watts's final request, for them to return the favour, anticipates that the three men's names will appear together in print.

Early in 1749, David Jennings wrote to Doddridge to say that he could not yet send a list of Watts's manuscripts, but providing information about the financial and intellectual property arrangements:

> I suppose you know, that Dr. Watts has left Mr. Neal and his Brother, Mr. Enoch Watts, joint executors. I find Mr. Neal does not choose to meddle with the Manuscripts just at present. When he does, you will have immediate notice. I believe we shall not have near so much trouble in publishing the Doctor's Manuscripts as I expected, when he acquainted me with his design of committing them in part to my care; which was three or four years ago; for since then he has published most of the Manuscripts he designed for the press, so that, as I learn from Mr. Parker, there is little if any thing more remaining of that sort than the second part of the Improvement of the Mind. He tells me there are also some miscellaneous things in the manner of his Reliquiae Juveniles; but whether enough to make a volume, and whether intended by him for the press, I cannot say.[94]

David Jennings's explanation of the situation was close to Neal's view that 'I question whether there are any left which he has ordered to be published', for Jennings identified the second part of *The Improvement of the Mind* as the sole unpublished work of significance remaining. Preparing the text of this work, and arranging the other items for the *Works* into a suitable order, would be the editors' task. Neal wrote to Doddridge a month later, saying: 'I immediately determined to send you a list of Dr. Watts's manuscripts, in order that you may consider with yourself and consult Mr. Jennings, when and how they shall be delivered to you'.[95] The list of manuscripts does not survive, but is reproduced in both Stedman's and Humphreys's editions of Doddridge's correspondence.[96]

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[94] David Jennings to Philip Doddridge, 5 January 1748/9. Thomas Stedman, *Letters to and from the Rev. Philip Doddridge, D.D.* (Shrewsbury, 1793), 251; *Cal*. 1437.
[95] Nathaniel Neal to Philip Doddridge, 8 February 1748/9. *Cal*. 1447; Humphreys, V, 104.
[96] Stedman, *Letters*, 379-80; Humphreys, V, 103. In the course of editing a volume of Doddridge's correspondence for publication, the Church of England clergyman Thomas Stedman wrote to Miss Mercy Doddridge telling her that a letter had been published in the *General Evening Post* by a John Pope 'in which he asks y^{e} Representatives of D^{r} Doddridge and D^{r} Jennings (to whom D^{r} Watts committed y^{e} care of his papers) why, his Last Thoughts on important Subjects have never yet been published?'. Thomas Stedman to Miss Mercy Doddridge, 6 February 1790. DWL MS NCL L.1/8/185. Stedman was anxious to see the list, to publish the letter from Neal quoted here and, if possible, see the Watts manuscripts still held by the Doddridge family. Miss Doddridge agreed, though she may have questioned Stedman's motives,

Jennings began the editing procedure in optimistic spirits, with his statement that the second part of *The Improvement of the Mind* was all that would detain them, and this positive view was echoed in Doddridge's final words on the subject too. Writing to his wife during a visit to London in 1750, Doddridge noted that he was at Jennings's house, where the two men had concluded that 'We shall agree mighty well about D[r] Watts's manuscripts'.[97] Despite these positive expressions at the start and end of the process, there are some indications that the task did not run as smoothly as either man hoped, and that the reason for this was the condition of the second part of *The Improvement of the Mind*. Nathaniel Neal had never had such sanguine views about the work as David Jennings, for early on he had observed to Doddridge that 'I was very sensible the second part of Dr. Watts's Improvement of the Mind, would fall short of your expectation as a finished piece'.[98] The editing caused some difficulty for Jennings and Doddridge, and Neal wrote to Doddridge declaring that:

> The interposing between yourself and Dr. Jennings, in relation to Dr. Watts's MSS, is to me by no means an agreeable undertaking; but if he requests it (and if he does not it can answer no purpose) I shall be ready to do what I am able for the honour of the MSS as well as to prevent a misunderstanding between the Doctor and you.[99]

The questions of why Neal was interposing between the two friends and editors and why the matter was so urgent in 1750, given the *Works* were not published until 1753, are not answered in this letter. From Neal's words elsewhere about the second part of *The Improvement of the Mind*, it seems that his declared aim to protect 'the honour of the MSS' is misleading: in fact, Neal was more concerned to protect the honour of Watts's reputation, and was fearful that the manuscripts themselves might jeopardise this if they were published unedited. In a later letter to Doddridge, he urged extensive revisions to the unpublished manuscripts:

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for he defended his request: 'I am conscious of no improper views. I want to read them because they were <u>his</u> and before I print M[r] Neal's Letters'. Thomas Stedman to Miss Mercy Doddridge, 28 February 1790. DWL MS NCL L.1/8/186.

[97] Philip Doddridge to Mercy Doddridge, 2 August 1750. DWL MS NCL L.1/1/131; *Cal.* 1639.

[98] Nathaniel Neal to Philip Doddridge, 5 March 1749/50. Humphreys, V, 112. Nuttall, who does not include this passage, suggests a date of 15 March 1749/50. *Cal.* 1589.

[99] Nathaniel Neal to Philip Doddridge, 11 April 1750. Humphreys, V, 154; *Cal.* 1600.

> High as Dr. Watts's talents were esteemed by me, I think you should make no difficulty of taking such liberties as may seem to you necessary; nay you seem expressly warranted to do it by the paper left with the manuscripts. You are not laying before the world his opinion on doubtful and disputed points, but his illustrations of acknowledged ones: and the defects in those illustrations, did not arise from his want of ability to discern, or rectify them, but to the works remaining unfinished, till the decays of his bodily constitution disabled him from exerting those abilities.[100]

At issue was the extent of editorial intervention desirable, or permissible, in the preparation of Watts's manuscripts for publication. The answer to this depended on whether the works were considered complete or not. Jennings thought the works had been finished by Watts, and were therefore in the state the author wished: hence there would be little to detain the editors. Neal argued the opposite. He was very clear that he saw problems in the manuscript of the second part of *The Improvement of the Mind*: 'I think it, in all respects, imperfect, in matter and form'.[101] His suggestions for altering the content and structure of the work were unambiguous: 'It wants to be digested, in some parts reduced, in others (it may be) inlarged, in all methodized, connected, and polished'. Neal's choice of verbs makes clear why this project was such a serious matter: the very core of Watts's educational philosophy (that method was crucial) was undermined by this disorderly work.

Doddridge concurred with Neal in thinking the work unfinished. He remarked to Samuel Clark 'how I shall prepare for the press the second volume of Dr. Watts's Improvement of the Mind I cannot imagine', and requested Clark's assistance in completing the work.[102] Doddridge's approach, of seeking advice from trusted parties while preparing works for posthumous publication, was later followed by his own associates. He was determined his editorial procedure should be transparent, saying: 'I shall carefully distinguish the additions from the original', and this too became a concern for Job Orton in the

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[100] Nathaniel Neal to Philip Doddridge, 5 [or 15] March 1749/50. Humphreys, V, 112-3; *Cal*. 1589.
[101] Nathaniel Neal to Philip Doddridge, 5 [or 15] March 1749/50. Humphreys, V, 112. *Cal*. 1589.
[102] Philip Doddridge to Samuel Clark, 1 March 1748/9. Humphreys, V, 110; *Cal*. 1455. Clark replied 'I am glad you'll have y^{e} opportunity of perusing D^{r} Watts's Papers & of publishing w^{t} you may think useful, among w^{ch} perhaps may be found some w^{ch} he though more proper to be publish'd after his death.' [? May] 1749. Letter dated by Doddridge, CHCN Doddridge MS. See G. F. Nuttall, *Philip Doddridge: Additional Letters* (London, 2001), letter 1472A.

years to come.[103] The involvement of Doddridge and Jennings as editors is displayed much more prominently in Watts's *Works* than that of the editors of Doddridge's posthumous publications. Partly, no doubt, this was in accordance with Watts's own wishes. It presents Watts, Doddridge and Jennings as a trio of well known men of letters. A publication intended to demonstrate the learnedness and polish of dissenting culture should also, thought Watts, register a circle of friends and an intellectual community to validate it.

The inclusion of the second part of *The Improvement of the Mind* in Watts's collected *Works* is emphasised on the title page and in newspaper advertisements: it was this new work which was used to command the attention of the book-purchasing public. Neal had been right to worry that the presence of a new work that was poorly executed might lessen the reputation of the *Works* as a whole. Neal was conscious that part of the aim of producing Watts's *Works* was to exhibit a representative dissenter's polite learning, hence his concern that this intention would be threatened if pieces lacking polish were admitted to the volumes.

4. The published *Works* (1753)

A year after Watts's death, the copyright to his works was sold to James Waugh (the dissenting bookseller who also published parts of Doddridge's *Family Expositor*) for £600.[104] Following his significant investment in the venture, Waugh appears to have sold shares in the *Works* to other booksellers. A subscription was opened to support the publication, and proposals for printing by subscription were advertised in the London press in October 1750 and January and February 1751.[105] The advertisements emphasise the new material on education to be expected in the *Works*. It was not until August 1754 that the complete edition was advertised in the press at the price of four guineas bound.

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[103] Philip Doddridge to Samuel Clark, 1 March 1748/9. Humphreys, V, 110-1; *Cal.* 1455. The second part of *The Improvement of the Mind* has a preface signed by Jennings and Doddridge that gives Watts's instructions for the preparation of the manuscript and says that they have made few changes, which can be found as footnotes. There are around a dozen notes. Most are in the style of the work, and emphasise the point to which they are attached; two refer the reader to other works by Watts.

[104] Nathaniel Neal to Philip Doddridge, 3 November 1749. *Cal.* 1549.

[105] T. Longman, J. Buckland, J. Oswald, J. Waugh and J. Ward are listed as the booksellers in these advertisements, which is consistent with the information on the imprint of each volume.

This delay (for the title pages are dated 1753) suggests that sets were sent to subscribers first, and were not sold freely until all the subscribers' copies were dispatched. The first volume carries a list of 136 subscribers' names, including members of the Abney family, Watts's former student Sir John Hartopp, Thomas Secker (the Archbishop of Canterbury), the Countess of Huntingdon, and Aaron Burr and Samuel Sherwood (tutors of New Jersey College).[106] The six elegant and generously proportioned crown quarto volumes invited themselves into private libraries, where they would make a substantial presence on the shelf; and the comprehensive collection of works, lent the authority of Doddridge's and Jennings's names, offered itself as an indispensable compendium for religious and philosophical writings, educational pieces, poetry and *belles lettres*.

The first volume carries a frontispiece portrait engraved by the esteemed French artist Simon Ravenet.[107] The image of Watts (which is not the same as other known engraved portraits of him) is embellished with two cherubs, one holding a globe and telescope and the other a harp, which represent the two sides of Watts's contribution to literature: his learned works and his hymns. Watts is framed as if in a mirror, encouraging an allegorical reading of the *Works* as a reflection of Watts the man which recalls Richard Baxter's favoured concept of the 'speculum'; that the works of a great man demonstrate exemplary Christian action and thought.[108] The works were grouped in volumes by category: three volumes of sermons and discourses, one of hymns and poems, one of educational writings, and one of learned essays. The original circumstances and contexts of printing are not visible on the title pages of the volumes, all of which follow the same layout in order to create an impression of uniformity, yet each one, by registering the scope of the works contained therein, presents Watts either as a divine, a teacher or a poet. This monumental edition of all Watts's writings reinforces his status as an intellectual of the age and demands the acknowledgment of learned audiences of some wealth. It encourages readers and

[106] Though the subscription lists attest to support for the work from dissenters and members of the established church in England and America, the scope and scale of the subscription is much smaller than that for Doddridge's *Family Expositor*. See Chapter two, section two above.
[107] Ravenet was a 'virtuoso engraver' who worked for various booksellers, particularly Boydell and the Knaptons. See Sheila O'Connell, 'Ravenet, Simon François (1721–1774)', *ODNB*. He also produced the portrait of Daniel Neal that accompanied the 1754 edition of *The History of the Puritans* published by Buckland, Waugh and Fenner, and the portrait of John Tillotson prefixed to the 1752 edition of Tillotson's *Works*.
[108] See Keeble, *Richard Baxter, Puritan Man of Letters*, 122.

book purchasers to consider Watts alongside John Tillotson and Francis Bacon, both of whom were the subject of impressive, multi-volume collected works which appeared around the same time.[109] The publication of the *Works* built on Watts's efforts in his lifetime to dissolve boundaries around dissenting theology and behaviour, and to construct instead a cross-denominational culture of learning where wealthy members of the establishment would turn to Watts's *Works* for guidance and erudition. Certainly the apparatus of the *Works* does not stress religious particularity, or draw attention to the precise contexts of composition of many of his educational works, which were for children, dissenting families or students in dissenting academies.[110]

Collected *Works* conventionally began with a detailed, eulogistic biography: the works of Francis Bacon published in 1753 contained two biographies of him. Watts's *Works* reproduces the funeral sermon delivered by David Jennings which had been published in 1749.[111] The reasons Jennings gives for the absence of a biography are that Watts refused to leave any memoirs for a future biographer, that he had lived a life of retirement that held insufficient incident for a biography, and that Watts had specifically condemned the practice of using an author's correspondence to bulk out a biographical sketch.[112] Despite the modest framing of the biography, Jennings makes ambitious claims for Watts's literary and intellectual reputation:

> I question whether any author before him did ever appear with reputation on such a variety of subjects as he has done, both as a prose-writer, and as a poet. However this I may venture to say, that there is no man living of whose works so many have been dispersed, both at home and abroad, that are in such constant use, and translated into such a variety of languages; many of which will, I doubt not, remain more durable monuments of his great talents, than any representation I can make of them, though it were to be graven on pillars of brass. Thus did he shine as an ingenious man, and a scholar.[113]

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[109] *The Works of the Most Reverend Dr. John Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed Thomas Birch, 3 vols. (London, 1752) and *The Works of Francis Bacon*, 3 vols. (London, 1753).
[110] Watts sent copies of *Questions Proper for Students in Divinity* to Doddridge's academy in 1741: see *Cal*. 661. Watts also sent the work to New England, and asked Benjamin Colman to distribute it. See MHS *Proceedings*, 2nd ser, IX (1894-95), 381. See also Chapter four, section one above.
[111] David Jennings, *A Funeral Sermon Occasioned by the Death of the Late Reverend Isaac Watts* (London, 1749).
[112] David Jennings, 'Preface' to Watts's *Works*, I, iii-iv.
[113] Watts, *Works*, I, vii.

Jennings's and Doddridge's contribution to enhancing Watts's lustre as 'an ingenious man' was to present new texts to the public. Despite the problems associated with editing the second part of *Improvement of the Mind*, in its printed form the work does not appear as unmethodical, disconnected and unpolished as Neal feared. The *Works* brought together all the 'monuments of his great talents', and for the first time, all Watts's writings on education appear in sequence.

Watts had always seen *Logick* and *The Improvement of the Mind* as belonging together, as the original subtitle of the latter – 'a supplement to the art of logick' – attests. The final paragraph of *Logick* articulated the need for a companion volume:

> The particular means or method for a farther improvement of the understanding, are very various, such as meditation, reading, conversing, disputing by speech or by writing, question and answer, &c. and in each of these practices some special forms may be observed, and special rules may be given to facilitate and secure our enquiries after truth. But this would require a little volume by itself, and a treatise of Logick has always been esteemed sufficiently complete without it.[114]

In the first sentence of *The Improvement of the Mind* Watts refers directly to this paragraph, saying 'In the last page of Treatise of Logick which I published many years ago, it is observed, that there are several other things which might assist the cultivation of the mind'.[115] Each of the ways he lists for improving the understanding in *Logick* is the subject of a chapter of *The Improvement of the Mind*, which also adds remarks on learning languages.

The first line of the second part of *The Improvement of the Mind* also refers back to the preceding work:

> The chief design of the former part of this book, is to lead us into proper methods for the improvement of our knowledge; let us now consider what are the best means of improving the minds of others.[116]

Watts expresses the connection between the works in intellectual terms, and demonstrates the practical connections between them in the way he frames his

[114] Watts, *Works*, V, 180.
[115] Watts, *Works*, V, 183.
[116] Watts, *Works*, V, 321

prefaces. He uses the reception of *Logick* to promote *The Improvement of the Mind*:

> The learned world who has done so much unmerited honour to that *logical* treatise, as to receive it into our two flourishing universities, may possibly admit this as a *second part* or *supplement* to that treatise. And I may venture to persuade myself, that if the common and the busy ranks of mankind, as well as the scholar and the gentleman, would but transcribe such rules into their understanding . . . *justice*, *virtue* and *goodness* would attend as the happy consequents.[117]

Watts acknowledges that the function and reputation of a book is partly created by its readers, who accept or ignore a printed text. As he does this, he signals his gratitude to the English universities for acknowledging his work in words that evoke the unequal relationship between the Anglican intellectual establishment and dissenters, who are grateful for its recognition.[118] He implicitly addresses the difference between dissenting and university learning by drawing attention to his aim of widening the projected audience for his educational methods from 'the scholar and the gentleman' to 'the common and the busy ranks of mankind' as part of his confident claim that following his guidelines for reading, conversing and studying could improve society as a whole.

Despite volume five of the *Works* collecting together all Watts's educational writings, in accordance with the connected project Watts envisaged, and possibly to the benefit of readers who had previously had to locate these works in their separate editions and had never seen the second part of *The Improvement of the Mind*, a sense of discomfort pervades sections of the volume.[119] Editorial comments have an embarrassed tone, and editorial notes refer readers away from this work and towards other pieces by Watts. For example, a note at the end of chapter six (on 'the Harangue' as a sermon mode) says:

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[117] Watts, *Works*, V, 186.

[118] Watts notes the use of his works in less deferential terms in a letter to Benjamin Colman of 8 May 1728: 'Even Oxford & Cambridge break thro' their bigotry & hatred of y^e^ Dissenters'. MHS *Proceedings*, 2nd ser, IX (1894-95), 341.

[119] There is no bibliographic evidence that the second part of *The Improvement of the Mind* was published before the publication of the *Works* in 1753. The earliest separately-published version of it appears to be in *The Posthumous Works of the Late Reverend Dr. Isaac Watts containing the Second Part of the Improvement of the Mind* (London, 1754), published by T. and T. Longman. This is extremely rare: the only copy in Britain is held at Brasenose College, Oxford.

> It appears by the date, 1718, at the bottom of this paper in the manuscript, that it was written more than thirty years ago. The first and perhaps the second section of it may seem now to be grown in a great measure out of date; but whether the third is not at least as seasonable now as ever, may deserve serious consideration. The author has, since this was drawn up, delivered his sentiments more fully in the first part of that excellent piece intitled, *An humble attempt for the revival of religion*, &c.[120]

Although Watts himself might not have thought that the second part of *The Improvement of the Mind* was superseded by his later writings, his own voice does not always help reassure the reader that he is confident or expert in the matters he discusses. Throughout his educational writings he repeatedly remarks on his own amateur status and suggests that he is not *au fait* with the current state of learning. In the preface to the first part of *The Improvement of the Mind*, he risks destabilising his own project by admitting that the methodical character of reading and composition that he identifies as crucial to improving the understanding is missing from his own text:

> The work was composed at different times and by slow degrees . . . On these accounts it is not to be expected that the same accurate order should be observed either in the whole book, or in the particular chapters thereof . . . A book which has been twenty years in writing may be indulged for some variety of style and manner.[121]

Watts's educational works such as *A Guide to Reading and Writing English* and *A Short View of the Whole Scripture History* are carefully structured and embody the method of developing knowledge sequentially that he promotes in his pedagogic works. In both parts of *The Improvement of the Mind*, though, Watts asks that his texts which lay out his pedagogic theory be exempt from the rules he has set for the presentation and conduct of learning.

Authorial and editorial statements in the *Works* pull away from any claims – implicit in the weighty appearance of the volumes and their extensive paratexts of contents lists and indexes – that the volumes present a coherent and authoritative body of writing. Another problem with the *Works* is that, while it embodies a monumental Watts as a man of letters, it does so at the expense of

[120] Watts, *Works*, V, 351.
[121] Watts, *Works*, V, 183.

one of the central aspects of Watts's intellectual life. The works collected here are only those solely authored by Watts. The *Works* gives no space to, and does not even acknowledge, his collaborative projects such as *Two Discourses* or the culturally significant works which gained much of their influence following his endorsement, such as Elizabeth Rowe's *Devout Exercises of the Heart.*[122] Another barrier to a widespread and positive reception for the *Works*, suggested a review of the publication, was changing public tastes: it feared Watts's 'florid diction' and 'diffusive and pathetic stile' would meet with disapprobation 'as some critics of a severer turn of thought may be ready to object to, as not so properly adapted to theological discourses, whether popular or polemical'.[123] The reviewer offers a positive summary of the work but steps back from critical engagement with any new content:

> It would exceed the bounds we must assign to this article, to enter into a critical consideration of the additions and improvements which have now been given to such pieces as were published by the doctor himself, from his manuscript corrections, and illustrations; and to represent our opinion of those tracts, which are now first offered to the public, which we therefore reserve for a future article.[124]

The 'future article' was never published and Watts's *Works* were not reprinted until the nineteenth century. In terms of its appearance, range of content and reception, Watts's *Works* appears not to have been quite the triumphant display of dissenting culture its imposing appearance proposes.

5. Reactions to Watts

Periodical reviews of Watts's *Works* in 1754 and *The Improvement of the Mind* in 1741 both offer positive assessments of Watts's contribution to intellectual and religious life, though they express some reservations about his style. An alternative printed view of Watts's publishing career is presented in *Achates to*

[122] In this, the *Works* follows the convention of the age. John Wesley did include texts he edited in *The Works of the Rev. John Wesley*, 32 vols. (Bristol, 1771-74) but was very unusual in doing so.
[123] *Monthly Review*, 10 (1754), 93-100 (100). The author was Roger Flexman the dissenting clergyman and historian: see Nangle, *The Monthly Review*, I, 219 and Alan Ruston, 'Flexman, Roger (1708–1795)', *ODNB*. See also Chapter four, section one below.
[124] *Monthly Review*, 10 (1754), 100.

Varus (1746), published by Edmund Curll.[125] An anonymous verse epistle in heroic couplets, its satirical intentions are to denigrate an unnamed author's recent publications. The Preface asks:

> [If we] Admit a Writer is capable of giving us some valuable Lessons in *Logick*, *Divinity*, or sacred *Odes*: Does it therefore follow he is to be heard in every Science, or is a Master of all Subjects he is pleased to fancy himself acquainted with.[126]

It is difficult to avoid seeing Watts in this description, given he was best-known for *Logick* and *Horae lyricae* (1706). A 'quotation' from a false advertisement to a non-existent new text invokes Watts's mode of discourse as well as borrowing his real-life location:

> Whereas it hath pleased God for these two Years past to cut me off from the delightful work of my Study . . . I shall endeavour to hasten the finishing of such as are yet imperfect: Some of which perhaps the Publick may more earnestly expect. Stoke Newington, Feb. 21 1744-5.[127]

This advertisement is followed by an accusation that 'Fame reports they have more than once already suppres'd some brother Authors who attack'd this celebrated Advertiser'.[128] The second section of the work, 'An Elegy Sacred to the Memory of an Illustrious Divine, decease'd' and its attendant preface remove all doubt as to the identity of the target, and argue that Watts has produced so many works, on such diverse topics, and that they are so slapdash, that it would be better to imagine that the man himself had died:

> But to secure his Reputation in the most effectual manner, I think it best to manage him as Mr. *Addison* did Sir *Roger de Coverly*, and suppose him actually extinct, as undoubtedly his Faculties have been several Years.[129]

The trigger for this vicious piece was, according to the preface, that:

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[125] For a detailed survey of the work of the infamous bookseller, see Paul Baines and Pat Rogers, *Edmund Curll, Bookseller* (Oxford, 2007). They suggest that the author of *Achates and Varus* also wrote a piece called *Delirium poeticum*, of which they note: 'The identity of this eccentric author remains unknown, and few will wish to devote any great labour to solving the mystery.' (307).
[126] *Achates to Varus* (London, 1746), xi-xii.
[127] *Achates to Varus*, xvi.
[128] *Achates to Varus*, xvii.
[129] *Achates to Varus*, xxx.

> When I was informed that a Book of Arithmetick, another on Sun-Dials, a third on I know not what, and a Design to abridge *Caryl on Job*, in eight Volumes Octavo, were all actually preparing together to make their appearance, I imagined the very Stones would cry out, if I held my Peace any longer.[130]

While the tenor of the work is satirical, there is a serious point at its heart: that Watts's intellectual procedures are suspect. Speaking of *Logick*, it claims that 'a Pupil of three Days standing' would recognise the flaws in Watts's approach, particularly his strategy of avoiding difficult questions by invoking the authority of God:

> Is it a proper solution of the Difficulties he cannot unravel, to tell his Opponent, That undoubtedly God Almighty, at the great Day of Judgment, will clear up all these present Obscurities?[131]

It scorns as 'pitiful subterfuges' saying 'maybe' and 'perhaps'.[132] The criticisms articulated in *Achates to Varus* chime with Nathaniel Neal's concerns about the state of Watts's unpublished manuscripts, and the list of miscellaneous publications rushed through the press evokes (though unintentionally) Jennings's observation that Watts had busied himself with publishing most of his leftover pieces in the years before his death. Indeed, Watts himself made the criticisms in *Achates to Varus* easier to form by flagging the gaps in his own knowledge. In the Preface to the *Philosophical Essays*, he says:

> Shall I be told that other writers have said the very same things which I have done, and in a much better manner? I confess I know it not; for though I now and then look into modern books of philosophy, yet there are many which I have never seen, having not sufficient time to peruse them.[133]

Watts's words here could compromise his stature as an intellectual of his age. Though we might read this as part of Watts's strategy for inviting all readers to imagine that they could participate as equals in intellectual debates by modelling

[130] *Achates to Varus*, xxviii.
[131] *Achates to Varus*, xxvi.
[132] *Achates to Varus*, xxvii.
[133] Watts, *Works*, V, 504.

the work of an enthusiastic amateur, the potential for a less forgiving interpretation was seized by the author of *Achates to Varus*. Towards the end of the preface, the writer turns on the community of dissenters, the cultivation and promotion of which was so central to Watts's project:

> WHEN I see a Divine, whose Tongue dropt Manna to the thronging Auditors, and now grown enfeebled, weak and forgetful; yet still encouraged to pour out unconnected and inconsistent Scraps of Something Like Religion, but the Reasonings all mangled, false, ridiculous, and sometimes Even impious; I would inquire whether his Guardians, his Friends, or nearest Kindred, can possibly think they are acting in a Charitable or a Christian Character?[134]

It is possible that the publication of this work two years before he died contributed to the lapse in Watts's health reported by Philip Doddridge.[135] The condemnation of Watts's 'Reasonings' as 'mangled, false, ridiculous' is a particularly painful criticism, given that Watts placed reason at the centre of learning. *Achates to Varus* may have had the farther reaching effect of motivating Nathaniel Neal's insistence that no work be published posthumously that might damage Watts's reputation. Curll did not reprint the work, which was not widely advertised in the press.[136] It is uncertain how influential a work it was, or how widely read, but it forcefully articulates a negative interpretation of Watts's practices of writing accessible texts on a wide range of subjects.

Samuel Johnson's attitude to Watts may be set against the condemnation of Watts's intellectual methods and publishing practice expressed so viciously in *Achates to Varus*. He recommended *The Improvement of the Mind* to female acquaintances, and told readers of his 'Life of Watts':

> Few books have been perused by me with greater pleasure than his *Improvement of the Mind*, of which the radical principles may indeed be found in Locke's *Conduct of the Understanding*, but they are so expanded and ramified by Watts, as to confer upon him the merit of a work in the highest degree useful and pleasing. Whoever has the care of instructing

[134] *Achates to Varus*, xxiv-xxv.
[135] In a letter to his wife, Doddridge describes Watts as 'quite amazed and even stupefied' at the conduct of his nephew James Brackstone (a bookseller) in a matter which Doddridge does not fully describe. Philip Doddridge to Mercy Doddridge, 16 August 1746. DWL MS NCL L.1/1/82; *Cal*. 1177.
[136] It was, however, the first title that Curll entered in the Stationer's Register for a decade, and the last he did this for. See Baines and Rogers, *Edmund Curll, Bookseller*, 307.

> others, may be charged with deficience in his duty if this book is not recommended.[137]

The marketing potential of this accolade was swiftly recognised by Watts's booksellers, who included it as the epigraph to editions of *The Improvement of the Mind* well into the nineteenth century and used it in newspaper advertisements for Watts's works.[138] Johnson particularly praised precisely the feature of Watts's output that *Achates to Varus* scorned: its variety. He observed that: 'As his mind was capacious, his curiosity excursive, and his industry continual, his writings are very numerous and his subjects various.' As Roger Lonsdale has noted, the adjective 'excursive' had considerable positive force for Johnson.[139] Given these contrary responses to the same characteristic, perhaps it is safest to assess Watts's influence in bibliographic terms. The continued republication of Watts's works well into the nineteenth century and the ever-varying formats in which the works appeared offer evidence of their continued popularity among readers and their profitability to booksellers, and there is evidence that *The Improvement of the Mind* (to take one example) was being read in the mid-nineteenth century. It was translated into Dutch, German and French in the 1760s, and editions were published in America in 1793 and 1826. By this evidence, it would appear to have had a wide reaching and long lasting influence. Watts's ideas percolated through their presence in Johnson's *Dictionary* or, at the opposite end of the spectrum in terms of cost and format, the *Circle of the Sciences* series published by John Newbery in pocket editions for children. Though it can never be entirely clear how direct an impact his works had on educational ideas or the ways in which children, students and adults learned, his ideas and methods were a significant part of the intellectual landscape right through the eighteenth century.

6. Watts in the Republic of Letters

[137] Johnson, 'Life of Watts', 18.
[138] There was no separate edition of *The Improvement of the Mind* from 1761 until 1782, but seven editions in the 1780s, following the publication of Johnson's 'Life of Watts' in 1781. All these editions feature Johnson's words.
[139] Samuel Johnson, *The Lives of the Poets*, ed. Roger Lonsdale, 4 vols. (Oxford, 2006), IV, 108.

During his lifetime, Watts was a figurehead for dissent.[140] In print, he used this status to address a community of dissenters while opening up his writings to a broader readership. He demonstrated how to collaborate by editing texts and suggesting the publication of fresh works, and he used his own reputation to endorse other writers. The effect of these activities was to bring new narratives and ideas to new audiences. Putting separate texts into contact with each other (for example John Jennings's discourses and Francke's letter) widened his readers' horizons and spread learning, in some cases across continents.

Watts's *Works* declared him to be a man of letters for his age. Like the first posthumous volume of Doddridge's *Family Expositor*, it was published by subscription in 1753. Doddridge's work had over a thousand subscribers, Watts's fewer than 150.[141] One reason for this might be that *The Family Expositor* was new, whereas virtually all of the pieces in Watts's *Works* had already been published, many of them in inexpensive editions. However (and unlike Watts's *Works*) there were several subsequent editions of the six-volume version of *The Family Expositor*, indicating continued demand for it, despite the edition published in parts and the abridged versions. The fact that the patent taken out by Watts's copyright owners did not include the *Works* suggests that separate editions of his works were the valuable literary property, which the booksellers wished to prevent being pirated. Substantial, large format, expensive editions were important as efforts to demonstrate the prestige associated with Watts's and Doddridge's intellectual and religious writings, but this was by no means the principal channel for the circulation of works by Watts. The different publishing profiles of Watts and Doddridge show very clearly that Watts's reputation for piety and learning within and beyond dissent was perpetuated by repeatedly reprinted inexpensive editions of his works, particularly his hymns, and that his *Works* was an isolated venture.[142]

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[140] Doddridge's decision to present his views on education to Watts, in the hope that Watts would lend his support to the project for a new academy is one example, and Watts's correspondence with Benjamin Colman is another. Watts's role as trustee of various charities meant that he wielded considerable power among dissenters.

[141] See Chapter two, section two above.

[142] Raven notes that editions of Watts's *Hymns* had vast print runs: see 'The Book as a Commodity', 92. See also Rivers, 'Religious Publishing', 597. The publishing history of Watts's hymns is charted in Selma L. Bishop, *Isaac Watts's Hymns and Spiritual Songs (1707): a Publishing History and a Bibliography* (Ann Arbor, 1974).

The content of Watts's works reinforces the open invitation offered by the low cost and wide circulation of his works. His writings invite broad audiences directly through their friendly, open address and indirectly through their way of thinking about knowledge and conducting their inquiries, which is open and straightforward. Watts was a significant producer of a category of books that has tended to slip between the cracks in current historical and literary inquiries. These pedagogic and practical works are not innovative philosophical texts, and therefore are not examined by intellectual historians. Nor do they form part of imaginative literature as studied today. DeMaria calls them 'self-help books' and Lawrence Klein 'very useful books', but Watts's project was more ambitious than either of these labels allows.[143] Perhaps the lack of attention paid to works of this nature explains why Watts's role as a educationalist has gone comparatively unexamined.

This chapter has sought to redress that deficiency by emphasising Watts's importance as a writer of educational works. In the eighteenth century, this category embraced a range of content: the building blocks of learning, methods for knowledge acquisition, processes of knowledge transfer, the responsibilities of the learner and those of the instructor, and the relationship between religion and learning were all suitable subjects for educational guides. Though he produced numerous works focusing specifically on religious education, Watts was quite happy to address all these topics in a single work, and does so in *Logick* and *The Improvement of the Mind.* The reception of these works and the *Philosophical Essays* shows that writings by a dissenting minister were not necessarily interpreted as having solely evangelical purposes. Conversely, promoting new modes of enquiry was not an inherently secularising move. Jonathan Sheehan and Brian Young have both shown that developments in intellectual practices within religious communities and for spiritual purposes contributed to the willingness to adopt new methods of scholarship and the associated widening knowledge of the world that characterise enlightenment.[144] These themes can be understood through Watts's works which sought to

[143] DeMaria, *Samuel Johnson and the Life of Reading*, 108-15; Lawrence E. Klein, 'Politeness for Plebes' in *The Consumption of Culture, 1500-1800*, 362-82 (367).
[144] Brian Young, *Religion and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1998); Jonathan Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible* (Princeton and Oxford, 2005), and 'Sacred and Profane: Idolatry, Antiquarianism and the Polemics of Distinction in the Seventeenth Century', *Past and Present*, 192 (2006), 35-66.

encourage diverse, rational habits of thought guided by religious understanding. His contemporaries saw the value of his approaches, even if twenty-first scholarship may not. As the *History of the Works of the Learned* pointed out, those wishing to participate in the Republic of Letters ought to read Watts.

Chapter Four

Biography and the construction of dissent in print 1748-1820

In advance of Isaac Watts's funeral in December 1748, an invitation was printed.[1] A surviving copy of the half-folio sheet depicts an engraved image of a tomb on which the planned time and route of the funeral procession is displayed. The tomb sits between a winged man with a scythe and an hourglass, and a skeleton holding an arrow. This iconography of death and judgment is supplemented by the presence of a bird representing the Holy Spirit and a sun directly above the tomb, which is garlanded with laurels and flanked by two cherubs. A church on a hill is depicted in the background, while beneath the tomb, in the foreground of the image, is a dissenter's funeral procession. The invitation draws on classical motifs in its combination of fear and joy, use of allegory and visual symmetry, while also evoking nonconformist traditions in the depiction of a funeral procession. At Watts's instruction, his funeral procession was led by six ministers, two from each of the three dissenting denominations, Presbyterian, Congregational and Baptist. This reminded attendees of the shared experiences and culture of the three groups (often divided by squabbles). The invitation to, and conduct of, Watts's funeral reflected his awareness that the way in which the dead were memorialised could communicate a message about the future to those still living.

Though many of Watts's writings appealed to readers beyond dissent and he actively encouraged broad audiences for his works, his funeral acted as a forceful reminder that he primarily identified himself within his religious community. Watts and Doddridge died within three years of one another, and the continued publication of their works demonstrated the strength of their influence on the teaching and piety of dissenters as well as on readers from the established church. In order to understand the nature of their legacy, this chapter explores how biographies sought to contextualise their work and establish them as influential dissenters. Nearly all of these were written by fellow dissenters, and so the ways in which Watts and Doddridge were represented after their deaths

[1] A copy of the invitation is in the BL, shelfmark Cup 21 g.34/1. See Appendix III for a reproduction of the image. For another printed funeral invitation, see *CHBB*, V, fig. 2.1.

must primarily be understood in the context of nonconformist life writing traditions.

Dissenters' ideas about exemplarity came from their forebears, and Watts's ideas about memorialisation so powerfully expressed in the conduct of his funeral had a historical connection to anxieties about biography expressed by Richard Baxter. In his preface to Samuel Clarke's posthumously published *Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons* (1683), Baxter invites readers to consider the advantages and disadvantages of reading biographies:

> Christian Reader,
> We have disswasives and perswasives to this kind of History, the Lives of Wise and holy Persons: The disswasives are, that it may tempt men to think that such Instances are Rarities, and that Saints are so few, that we may with the Papists, Canonize them, and call only a few extraordinary Votaries, the Religious.[2]

One 'disswasive' is the danger that readers might see the level of piety and wisdom embodied by these exemplary figures as impossible to emulate; another is the opposite problem that if one were to write the lives of every holy person 'we must speak over the same things of all'. Against these considerations Baxter offers several 'perswasives'. People benefit from good examples, and in 'a time of mental War' such as the early 1680s, accurate accounts of the lives of suitable religious figures were necessary to combat ignorance and false knowledge. Biographical writing obeyed God's instruction to 'have the memory of the just to be blessed', and:

> Nature is delighted in History. And the World is dolefully abused by false history, specially Ecclesiastick: And the true History of exemplary Lives is a pleasant and profitable recreation to young persons; and may secretly work them to a liking of Godliness and value of good men, which is the beginning of saving Grace: O how much better work is it, than Cards, Dice, Revels, Stage Plays, Romances or idle Chat.[3]

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[2] Richard Baxter, 'To the Reader' in Samuel Clarke, *The Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons in this Later Age* (London, 1683), sig. [a].
[3] Baxter, 'To the Reader', in *Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons*, sig. [av]. Reading biographies was encouraged at dissenting academies in the eighteenth century. At Daventry, students transcribed lists of books recommended for reading during each year of their studies and biographies featured in the list for each year. See CHCN Blackmore MS 5, fols. 15-25.

Baxter presents biographical writing as a genre open to heterogeneous interpretations, and as such the question of how seventeenth-century readers used biographies was a serious one. His decision to call attention to the educative purposes of godly biography shapes Clarke's compendium into an ethical resource, but Clarke's works themselves emphasise other functions of biography. His series of historical and biographical works published between the 1650s and 1680s chart the history of English Christians from ancient times to the current age as a record of the persecutions they suffered, in the tradition of John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1563). Clarke's later works updated earlier ones: the *Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons* added biographies of ejected ministers to his record of learned divines and Protestants of noble birth. His practice of collecting lives written by others meant that friendships between subjects and writers could be offered as proof of the authenticity of a 'life'. Clarke's paratexts repeatedly invoke the synechdochic capacity of biography through their titles (such as *The Marrow of Ecclesiastical History*) and in the anagram he created from his name ('suck all cream'). Clarke's works – with their cumulative construction and emphasis on the learned piety of their subjects – provided a model for later biographical writers among the dissenters.[4]

The collective identity of nonconformity from the 1660s onwards had been constructed defensively, as a response to active curtailment of religious and political freedoms, and this engendered a particular set of attitudes and practices.[5] The 'farewell' sermons preached by ministers who had lost their livings were often printed in collections which verbally and visually made explicit their memorialising intentions.[6] Funeral sermons provided an opportunity for

[4] Peter Lake emphasises Clarke's intention to 'construct and justify a particular version of the puritan tradition: 'moderate', learned, respectable, Presbyterian'. See Lake, 'Reading Clarke's *Lives*', in *Writing Lives: Biography and Textuality, Identity and Representation in Early Modern England*, ed. Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker, (Oxford, 2008), 293-318 (295) and Ann Hughes, 'Clarke, Samuel (1599–1682)', *ODNB*. Doddridge's friends Samuel Clark father and son were his descendants.

[5] See Keeble, *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity* and Sharon Achinstein, *Literature and Dissent in Milton's England* (Cambridge, 2003).

[6] Several such collections were printed, particularly in 1662 and 1663. They all claim to be 'improved' or 'more exact' than the others, and usually carry full lists of the names on the title pages, and portraits of the ministers. See for example, *An Exact Collection of Farewel Sermons, Preached by the Late London-ministers* (London, 1662) or *A Compleat Collection of Farewel Sermons* (London, 1663), which contained forty-two sermons. See David Appleby, *Black Bartholomew's Day: Preaching, Polemic and Restoration Nonconformity* (Manchester, 2007), 36-8.

ministers to speak to dissenting congregations about their position of exclusion and the importance of recalling the persecution suffered by the deceased. Funeral ceremonies allowed dissenters to enact their separate rituals and declare their commitment to preserving their own traditions rather than being subsumed into the Church of England.[7]

The capacity for collections of lives to effect a political purpose is exemplified by Edmund Calamy's survey of ejected ministers taken from Richard Baxter's autobiography. The ascendant High Church Tory faction of Queen Anne's government was not in favour of toleration, and the publication of Calamy's *Abridgement of Mr Baxter's Narrative* (1702) was deliberately timed to precede the rising of Queen Anne's first parliament in May 1702.[8] Calamy's work, which charted the names, qualifications and characters of the ministers who lost their livings, sought to prove that they were learned, reasonable and appropriately qualified divines, and that the number involved was considerable. The second edition of the *Abridgement* was a two-volume work, the second volume comprising *An Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, Masters and Fellows of Colleges and Schoolmasters* (1713). This work and *A Continuation of the Account of the Ministers* (1727) extended the story of nonconformity to include the generation of ministers after 1662.[9] Rather than seeking to offer spiritual edification, an important function of Calamy's work was to establish the number and nature of the ministers removed from their livings for the historical record.[10]

Funeral sermons in the eighteenth century still recalled penal times, but the generation of ejected ministers was passing. When seventeenth-century

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[7] See Achinstein, *Literature and Dissent in Milton's England*, 27-37. Funerals could become charged with local political animosity, for dissenters were sometimes denied burial plots for which they had paid: see Bradley, *Religion, Revolution and English Radicalism*, 55-6.
[8] Wykes, *'To Revive the Memory of some Excellent Men'*, 7.
[9] Edmund Calamy, *An Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's History of his Life and Times. With an Account of many others of those Worthy Ministers who were Ejected, after the Restauration of King Charles the Second . . . and a Continuation of their History, till the Year 1691*, 2 vols. (London, 1702); *An Abridgement of Mr. Baxter's History of his Life and Times. With an Account of the Ministers, &c. who were Ejected after the Restauration, of King Charles II*, 2 vols. (London, 1713) and *A Continuation of the Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, Masters and Fellows of Colleges, and Schoolmasters, who were Ejected and Silenced after the Restoration in 1660*, 2 vols. (London, 1727). See Wykes, *'To Revive the Memory of Some Excellent Men'*, 19; Isabel Rivers, 'Biographical Dictionaries and their Uses from Bayle to Chalmers', in *Books and their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England: New Essays*, ed. Isabel Rivers (London, 2001), 135-170 (147) and John Seed, 'History and Narrative Identity: Religious Dissent and the Politics of Memory in Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of British Studies*, 44 (2005), 46-63.
[10] John Seed, *Dissenting Histories: Religious Division and the Politics of Memory in Eighteenth-Century England* (Edinburgh, 2008), 13-40.

narratives were invoked it was primarily to describe that era to listeners who had never experienced it. On one hand, the records Calamy published and Daniel Neal's *History of the Puritans* (1732-38) were significant monuments to the past of dissent and its place in national history and on the other, funeral sermons continued to commemorate the contributions of particular individuals to local and national dissenting life. Dissenters increasingly explored the possibilities for recording and interpreting afforded by prose narrative. Biographical prefaces (such as Doddridge's 'Life of Thomas Steffe') and book-length lives of individuals (such as that of Philip Henry written by his son Matthew) proliferated, and dissenters investigated the memorial possibilities of posthumous works, editions of collected works and editions of correspondence.

The shift in focus of dissenting memorials away from compiling accurate records of the numbers of ministers who lost their livings and recollecting the injustices they suffered, and towards building a positive idea of dissenters' heritage and proposing optimistic projections for their contemporary and future cultural influence reflected the relatively hospitable political situation they enjoyed following the death of Queen Anne. Following resounding defeats of two bills to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts in the 1730s, dissenters kept a low profile in national religious and political life but always stressed their loyalty to the Hanoverian dynasty: Doddridge dedicated *The Family Expositor* to the Princess of Wales, and helped raise a regiment against Jacobite forces in 1745, for example. From the 1770s, calls for independence from the American colonies unsettled this equilibrium, for dissenters tended to support those seeking independence, and this revived doubts about their loyalty among some sections of the Anglican clergy and national government.[11] A new version of Calamy's *Account*, edited by Samuel Palmer and titled *The Nonconformist's Memorial* was published in 1775 and reissued in 1777. It did not comment directly on the international situation, but it is striking that a work celebrating loyalty to conscience and community among dissenters was published at a time when dissenting positions were being characterised as disloyal. Thomas Gibbons's collection of exemplary female lives, *Memoirs of Eminently Pious Women* (1777), constructed and celebrated an English tradition of female devotion to

[11] Watts, *The Dissenters*, I, 479-80; Bradley, *Religion, Revolution and English Radicalism*, ch. 4.

God. His compendium included both dissenters and members of the established church, and covered a span of centuries, from Lady Jane Grey and Catherine Parr via Mary II, wife of William III, to Elizabeth Rowe. Narratives of dissenters' lives, whether individual works or within collections, responded to and reflected the political climate in which they were published while always emphasising the religious identities of their subjects. In this tradition, memorials of Watts and Doddridge celebrated their status within the dissenting community and emphasised their wider renown. Biographies sought to articulate the different conceptions of the 'Godliness and value' (in Baxter's words) that each man represented.

1. Representations of Isaac Watts: biography and controversy

Watts's death in 1748 occasioned the publication of three funeral sermons, an oration delivered at his interment, and elegiac poems.[12] A third edition of Jennings's funeral sermon for Watts was issued in 1749, indicating some appetite for it among readers. Though it is not clear how widely these texts circulated, references to Watts in the *Gentleman's Magazine* suggests that interest in Watts after his death did extend beyond his immediate community. The first records of Watts after his funeral came in periodicals, beginning with an engraving of Watts's holograph in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.[13] The visible traces of Watts's handwriting reinforce the connection between Watts's words known to readers through print and Watts as the human creator of those words. Interest in textual remains intersected with curiosity about a writer's physical presence, and the associated idea that printed works serve as an embodiment of their creator was commonplace.

The capacity for printed texts to assume corporeality by acting as the material 'remains' of a deceased individual is evoked in the review of Watts's *Works* in the *Monthly Review* which, recalling seventeenth-century publication of posthumous works such as Richard Baxter's *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, explicitly identifies the publication of Watts's *Works* (1753) as an occasion for memorial.

[12] The sermons were by David Jennings, John Milner and Caleb Ashworth. The address at the interment was by Samuel Chandler. Thomas Gibbons and various anonymous writers composed poems, many of which are collected in a single volume in the BL, shelfmark T.1697.
[13] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 23 (1753), 260.

The reviewer (who was Roger Flexman, a dissenter) notes that Watts's works afford the opportunity to encounter his character, presented in uncritical terms as 'extensive genius . . . accomplished learning, and truly amiable and benevolent temper.'[14] Flexman extracts extensively from Jennings's funeral sermon in order to provide a factual body of information about Watts to accompany the intellectual character delineated in a survey of his writings.[15] The review alludes to Watts's admirable personal qualities without delineating them:

> We forbear to expiate on the various excellencies of his worthy character, on account of which he was so much distinguished and esteemed in the more confined circles of his friends and acquaintance; our present concern is with his numerous writings, a beautiful and improved edition of which we shall now recommend to the notice of the public.[16]

Flexman identifies the separation of a deceased man's character in his daily life from the persona embodied in his published writings as one way of understanding the different forms of 'remains'. It is not Watts's private virtues which are to be considered in the review, but the public statements in his published works.

The biographical sketch of Watts appended to his *Works* was the second half of David Jennings's funeral sermon. The preface (also written by Jennings) introduces this material rather coolly:

> It has been so usual to prefix some account of an author's life to such a collection of his works, as these six volumes contain of Dr. *Watts*'s writings, that many persons would, no doubt, be disappointed of their expectation, and would look upon the book as imperfect, without something of that sort . . . to comply with custom, as well as to preserve the memory of so amiable a character, and so instructive an example as Dr. *Watts*'s was, it is thought proper, on this occasion, to re-publish the following brief memoirs of his life and character, from his funeral-sermon preached by Dr. *Jennings*, at the church of which he was pastor, *December* 11, 1748.[17]

[14] *Monthly Review*, 10 (1754), 93. See also Chapter three, section four above.
[15] All lives of Watts published in the eighteenth century draw on Jennings's funeral sermon.
[16] *Monthly Review*, 10 (1754), 96.
[17] Jennings's 'Preface' to Watts, *Works*, I, iii-iv.

There is no indication in the *Works* that the writer of the preface is the same person who delivered Watts's funeral sermon. Jennings insists that the funeral sermon is included 'to comply with custom' and nothing more. Specifying the date on which the funeral sermon was preached emphasises its occasional nature, with the implication that this should not be treated as the definitive statement on Watts. The sermon ended with a brief chronological account of Watts's life which described his childhood, education and the principal activities he undertook to promote religion.

It is not clear why a fuller biography did not appear in the years after Watts's death, for his associates did discuss writing one. Nathaniel Neal wrote to Philip Doddridge:

> This morning I was with Lady Abney on the subject of your writing Dr. Watts's life; and am now to acquaint you with her sentiments in concurrence with my own, which are, that very few materials are likely to be found, and those that may must not be communicated to you immediately; Dr. Jennings having declined writing the life, merely, or principally, for want of materials, which he has inquired for, particularly of Lady Abney. The booksellers, therefore, must have patience, or they will precipitate us into a crude and imprudent conduct.[18]

The question of whether a biography of Watts should be written and what it should contain was a delicate one for Watts's circle. Some wanted a biography to fix a positive reputation for him, while others wished also to suppress materials and information. The booksellers, presumably anticipating a market, wanted a biography of Watts to be produced quickly. Speculation surrounding Watts's belief in the Trinity might be one of the concerns that precipitated Neal's anxiety about 'crude and imprudent conduct' if a biography was produced too precipitately.[19] There are no extant letters from Doddridge on the subject, nor any evidence that he ever began the work. Doddridge's death in 1751 left Jennings the sole surviving editor of Watts's *Works*, and the task of writing and arranging the prefatory materials fell to him. His refusal to write a biography several years

[18] Nathaniel Neal to Philip Doddridge, 5 March 1749. Humphreys, V, 111. Nuttall, who does not include this passage, notes that 'Lady Abney' should be Mrs Abney, and suggests a date of 15 March 1749/50. *Cal*. 1589.

[19] Publications such as *The Christian Doctrine of the Trinity* (1722) and *The Glory of Christ as God-Man Displayed* (1746) had aroused speculation as to the orthodoxy of Watts's views.

earlier might account for his half-hearted introduction of the funeral sermon into the *Works*. Following this, no biography was published for another twenty years, until the evangelical Anglican Augustus Toplady published 'Some Outlines of the Life of Dr. Isaac Watts' in the *Gospel Magazine* in 1776. This article fuelled rumours about Watts's doctrinal position by vividly depicting Watts as a deranged Socinian being comforted on his deathbed by George Whitefield.[20]

There was a further pause before more sober portraits of Watts appeared. Three books containing biographies of Watts were published between November 1779 and May 1781. A lengthy volume of *Memoirs* compiled by the dissenting minister Thomas Gibbons interlaced an account of Watts's life with substantial quantities of manuscript materials including student essays, juvenile poetry and correspondence. Samuel Johnson's brief 'Life of Watts' appeared in volume VIII of his *Prefaces, Biographical and Critical to the Works of the English Poets.* A two-volume edition of alleged *Posthumous Works* compiled by an anonymous 'Gentleman of the University of Cambridge', prefaced with a biography, was the first of the three to be published.[21]

Given the proximity of the publication of these three works, it is unlikely that any of them was written specifically in opposition to or support of another.[22] Johnson was contracted to produce the biographies which became the *Lives of the Poets* in March 1779, and it was he who suggested the inclusion of Watts. In 1777, he wrote to William Sharp, who owned some of Watts's manuscripts, and who may have told him of Gibbons's forthcoming biography when the two men later met. In 1779 Boswell wrote to Lord Hailes seeking information on Watts (among others).[23] Gibbons noted in his diary in May 1779:

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[20] 'Some Outlines of the life of Dr Watts' appeared in *Gospel Magazine*, 3 (1776), 28-41. It was reprinted in *The Works of Augustus M. Toplady*, 6 vols. (London, 1825), IV, 101-11 with the references to Whitefield's visit to Watts omitted.

[21] *The Posthumous Works of the Late Learned and Reverend Isaac Watts . . . Adjusted and Published by a Gentleman of the University of Cambridge*, 2 vols. (London, 1779); Thomas Gibbons, *Memoirs of the Rev. Isaac Watts D.D.* (London, 1780) and Samuel Johnson, 'Life of Watts' in *Prefaces, Biographical and Critical*, VIII, 1-24.

[22] The first review of *Posthumous Works . . . of Isaac Watts* appeared in November 1779: see *Critical Review*, 48 (1779), 356-62. Gibbons's work was reviewed in December 1779: see *Monthly Review*, 61 (1779), 425-32. Johnson's life of Watts was advertised in the London press on 16 May 1781.

[23] *The Lives of the Poets*, ed. Roger Lonsdale, I, 22, 38; IV, 378. Lord Hailes, a Scottish judge who was esteemed as a literary critic, and was acquainted with many of the men of letters of his day. See Patrick Cadell, 'Dalrymple, Sir David, third baronet, Lord Hailes (1726–1792)', *ODNB*.

> Thursd: 20. At Home. This Day finished D[r]: Watts's Memoirs. They were begun Sept: 29 last to be regularly drawn up, though some detached Parts had been drawn up before, I hope the whole will be useful ~~and~~ as well as acceptable to the Public.[24]

Ten months later he recorded that he had visited Lady Abney to give his views on the *Posthumous Works*. It is clear from this chronology that all three biographies were under way before any had been published, and probably before the writers knew of the other projects. They did, however, learn about each others' works before publication, and Gibbons may have accelerated the publication of his biography to counter the unofficial *Posthumous Works*.[25] In his 'Life of Watts', Johnson acknowledges Gibbons's biography at the outset, when he comments that Watts's father 'appears from the narrative of Dr. *Gibbons*, to have been neither indigent nor illiterate.'[26] Without Gibbons, Watts might not have appeared in the *Lives of the Poets*, for Johnson's approach was to synthesise other biographies rather than conduct fresh research and, as he said to Sharp, 'I know very little of his [Watts's] life'.[27]

The sudden surge of interest in Watts biography after twenty years without any published account of his life, and the form these biographies took, might have been influenced by the work of William Mason, Thomas Gray's literary executor.[28] Mason's edition of Gray's works included previously unpublished poems and a biographical preface which used manuscript sources (particularly letters) to construct a narrative. This use of private manuscripts aroused some controversy, but became popular with other biographers including James Boswell, who acknowledged that Mason's method was the model for his *Life of Johnson*. Both Gibbons's *Memoirs* and the *Posthumous Works* follow the pattern established by Mason of printing new works selected from the author's

[24] Congregational Library MS II.a.3, p. 407. The 'Preface' to Gibbons's *Memoirs* is dated 11 April 1780.
[25] *Lives of the Poets*, ed. Lonsdale, IV, 378; Congregational Library MS II.a.3, p. 419 (23 March 1780).
[26] *Lives of the Poets*, ed. Lonsdale, IV, 105.
[27] Samuel Johnson to William Sharp, 7 July 1777. Quoted in *Lives of the Poets*, ed. Lonsdale, IV, 378.
[28] John D. Baird, 'Gray, Thomas (1716–1771)', *ODNB*.

manuscripts and publishing letters, a habit Watts himself had allegedly questioned.[29]

The *Posthumous Works* (a collection of poetry and letters) begins with a biographical account of Watts written by 'a Gentleman of the University of Cambridge' which reproduces all the factual information from David Jennings's sermon, such as the fact that Watts started learning Latin at the age of four under the instruction of a Mr Pinhorne. It builds on Jennings's claims for Watts's scholarship by explicitly associating Watts's achievements with those of learned Renaissance men such as Montaigne who 'is said to have understood Latin almost before he could speak'.[30] Throughout, the account distances Watts the poet from Watts the dissenter, even suggesting that the devotional nature of his poetry ought to be discounted in order to appreciate the qualities of the verse: 'His poetry if judged of with a due allowance to the theme, certainly entitles him to a very high character in that style of composition.'[31] While the biography in the *Posthumous Works* separates two versions of Watts, it does so within a frame of tolerant commentary on the status of dissenters; for example the writer devotes several pages to the injustices and imprisonment suffered by Watts's father.

Despite its positive portrayal of Watts, the *Posthumous Works* attracted hostile responses. In the *Monthly Review*, Samuel Badcock dismissed the biographical skills of the author and lambasted the style of the biography, observing: 'Of the biographical talents of his Cambridge editor, we have but little to say, – though if we were disposed to be severe, we might say a good deal about his affectation in stopping so frequently to moralize and drop sage reflections.'[32] In the *Memoirs*, Gibbons rejects the poetry and letters of the *Posthumous Works* as inauthentic, declaring: 'I am very certain they never were composed by the *Doctor*', and claims his own motive for addressing the

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[29] Jennings wrote: 'on the publication of some letters to particular friends, along with an author's life, some years ago, the Doctor expressed his disapprobation of such a practice, and was pleased to say, "that if he knew any body, who would publish his letters after he was dead, he should not thank him for it," '. Jennings, 'Life of Watts' in Watts, *Works*, I, iii-iv.
[30] *Posthumous Works of . . . Isaac Watts*, I, ix.
[31] *Posthumous Works of . . . Isaac Watts*, I, xxxv. Johnson makes the same point in 'Life of Watts', 22-3.
[32] *Monthly Review*, 61 (1779), 425-32. For the identity of the reviewer see Nangle, *The Monthly Review*, I, 219. Samuel Badcock was a dissenting minister who conformed to the Church of England in 1789.

Posthumous Works as being to correct its misrepresentations, 'in justice to *Dr. Watts'*s memory':

> it gives me no small pleasure that all endeavours . . . to depreciate his poetical merit, or hold him up to ridicule and contempt . . . will henceforward absolutely, and for ever cease. A cloud of smoke may for a moment obscure the lustre of a diamond. The smoke vanishes, and the diamond shines in its former glory.[33]

Gibbons is emphatic that his biographical portrayal of Watts and his selection of authentic Watts manuscripts – collectively figured as a jewel, of enduring value and beauty – will endure against the transitory and insubstantial 'cloud of smoke' of speculation and false documents. Biographical narratives and newly published materials are two key means of forming a posthumous reputation. In the case of Watts, this reputation was still unfixed two decades after his death. Badcock's review of Gibbons's *Memoirs* is no more forgiving of the biographer's efforts in this respect than he was of those of the 'Gentleman of the University of Cambridge':

> we almost forget the virtues and excellencies of Dr. Watts, which are lost in the disgust excited by the vanity and affected importance of Dr. Gibbons; who seems to entertain an idea of going down to posterity, arm in arm with the respectable object of his encomiums.[34]

By visualising Gibbons and Watts 'arm in arm', Badcock literally personalises his suspicion of the biographer's proximity to his subject and the self-interest that might drive biographical writing. The vigour of Badcock's prose suggests that he imagines his reviews to offer a corrective to the biographies in terms of both perspective and style, in order that the reader may develop a more balanced picture of the subject. To this end Badcock also turns his acid pen on Watts himself, using a footnote to dismiss Watts's purported ill health as hypochondria and, more severely, questioning in his review of the *Posthumous Works* whether Watts's intellectual reputation was deserved.[35] Ultimately, though, Badcock concludes that the attribution of 'new' pieces (however poor) to a deceased

[33] Gibbons, *Memoirs*, 491.
[34] *Monthly Review*, 63 (1780), 267-73 (267).
[35] *Monthly Review*, 61 (1779), 425.

writer, and the introduction of critical voices to debate on his posthumous reputation, are unlikely to alter the prevailing version of a character:

> Dr. Watts hath so long been the idol of a particular class amongst the Dissenters that his fame would not be affected in their account, if this collection contained more trifling things than we find in it; or our criticism were more severe than we intend it shall be.[36]

Badcock's reviews generated a defensive printed response, suggesting that others did not share his sanguine confidence that Watts's reputation could withstand some mishandling. The anonymous pamphlet, signed 'a lover of truth and candour', is preoccupied with counteracting Badcock's portrayal of Calvinism as 'fanatic' and exposing the reviewer's hypocrisy in condemning Gibbons's 'Profusion of Metaphors' while himself employing 'Metaphors so low as to be unworthy of Publication, and so dark as to convey little or no Meaning.'[37] The writer of the pamphlet repeatedly alternates between defending Watts's theological position and his literary style in a manner that suggests he doubts either is strong enough to withstand Badcock's bombast. The existence of this printed conversation about biographies of Watts indicates that the question of how Watts should be memorialised and who was entitled to do it was a matter of concern for both dissenters and writers from the established church, and that it was not only the writers of biographies who sought to direct understanding of Watts and shape him as a figure in public memory.

Badcock's scorn for Gibbons's portentous prose and habit of interposing himself between Watts and the reader notwithstanding, the *Memoirs* provided the first detailed study of Watts's life and writing along with previously unseen authentic material records of Watts's intellectual life. Gibbons sought to combine his narrative with Watts's remains, by representing each phase of his life with documentary materials. In the case of Watts's education, academic discourses are included in order to demonstrate the exemplarity of the subject while simultaneously providing models for the reader to follow. Epitaphs and eulogies are the appropriate genres for registering death and grief, and so at this stage in

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[36] *Monthly Review*, 61 (1779), 425.
[37] *A Letter to the Author of the Monthly Review, on his Account of Dr. Watts's Posthumous Works for December, 1779; and his Strictures upon Dr. Gibbons's Memoirs of Dr. Watts, October, 1780* (London, 1781), 9.

the narrative Gibbons provides a surfeit of these forms. The quantities of previously unpublished materials written by Watts which Gibbons amasses sits oddly with the claims by Jennings that there were insufficient materials from which a narrative could be constructed.

Gibbons may be viewed as an editor rather than author, though it might be considered an editorial weakness that he failed to make judicious selections from the mass of manuscript material available to him. Indeed, Gibbons fails to separate his narrative from the materials to the extent that it is difficult to follow the chronology of Watts's life. At the close of chapter ten, for example, Gibbons writes that he visited Watts on his deathbed. He affirms that Watts was in full possession of his faculties, saying 'I found him exceedingly weak and low, the lamp of life very feebly glimmering in its last decay, but he was still in perfect possession of his understanding'.[38] The details of Watts's final hours are squeezed from the page by a footnote in which Gibbons disputes the claim made by Toplady in the *Gospel Magazine* that Whitefield visited Watts half an hour before his death. Though he dismisses Toplady's version of events as a 'fabulous story' and emphatically denies that Whitefield visited Watts in the months before his death, let alone the hours, Gibbons also reproduces the relevant passage from Toplady's 'Outlines of the life of Isaac Watts' in full.[39] Gibbons interrupts his own record of Watts's final moments in order to quote from letters written by Joseph Parker to Watts's brother so that Watts's death is narrated in the words of someone who was present, reinforcing the documentary veracity of his account in opposition to Toplady's.

Even when Gibbons is presenting information in his own voice, the narrative is repeatedly interrupted by footnotes giving details of Watts's remarks to him. Gibbons's work presents material evidence for Watts's piety and renown but the result of this privileging of the textual over the personal is a disorienting work full of overlapping voices. Gibbons struggles to maintain a spatial and narrative balance between the principal events of Watts's life, material written by Watts, and Gibbons's own interventions.

Samuel Johnson's 'Life of Watts' offers a very different kind of biographical writing. He draws on previously printed sources (to which he makes

[38] Gibbons, *Memoirs*, 317.
[39] Gibbons, *Memoirs*, 317.

reference in the text) without engaging in controversy, resulting in a smooth narrative that is not distorted by contrary impulses. Johnson does not promise to identify 'lost' works by Watts or claim to provide new insights into Watts's life and character via fresh research. His confident voice synthesises existing materials into a coherent, brief account of Watts's life to which he adds his own assessment of Watts's published writings. Johnson appreciated Watts's educational works and wished to establish his credentials as one of the significant English writers of his age, and the location of this biography in the series of 'Prefaces, Biographical and Critical' to the multi-volume project *The Works of the English Poets* (1799-81) represents an attempt to extract him from his denominational identity and situate him instead within national literary culture. One consequence of this was to place Watts in rather startling new company. In the original ten volumes, Watts appeared at the end of the eighth volume, after Ambrose Philips. In the three-volume version of the same edition published in Dublin (also in 1779 and 1781), the fourteen-page long life of Watts, which emphasises his pedagogic writings and methodical approaches rather than his poetry, immediately precedes the life of Savage, first published in 1744. Savage's dissolute life of drinking, indigence and duelling, and the sexual scandal surrounding his birth, all described over 180 pages provides a peculiar contrast to the brief entry on Watts which deals succinctly with his life and prose works.[40] Johnson treats Watts's religious culture perfunctorily, emphasising the rudeness characteristic of nonconformist writers by noting that any learning they might possess 'was commonly obscured and blunted by coarseness and inelegance of stile'.[41] He also dismisses devotional poetry as an inferior type of verse. Johnson concludes by stressing the incomplete exemplarity of Watts:

> Happy will be that reader whose mind is disposed by his verses or his prose, to imitate him in all but his non-conformity, to copy his benevolence to man, and his reverence to God.[42]

[40] The conjunction of Savage and the dissenters had an antecedent that Johnson could not have known; his *Life of Savage* is in the list of recommended reading for students in their first year at Daventry academy in the 1760s. CHCN, Blackmore MS 5, fol. 16.
[41] Johnson, 'Life of Watts', 13. Johnson gives a more extensive account of his views on 'pious poetry' in the 'Life of Waller', in *Prefaces, Biographical and Critical*, I, 109-14.
[42] Johnson, 'Life of Watts', 24.

While he alerts us to the instructive lessons to be gleaned from each life, Johnson does not offer readers guidance in how to approach the diversity of 'lives' collected in the *Prefaces*. This surprising new context for encountering Watts troubled some dissenters.

Samuel Palmer, the former student of Daventry academy who abridged Doddridge's *Family Expositor*, edited *The Nonconformist's Memorial* and published Job Orton's correspondence, had plenty to say about what he saw as Johnson's misappropriation of Watts. He expressed his view in various forms within a work entitled *The Life of the Rev. Isaac Watts, D.D. By the Late Dr. Samuel Johnson, with Notes* (1785). This piece reproduces Johnson's 'Life of Watts' along with extensive notes and other materials. It is better viewed as a collection of documents and opinions than as a single narrative.[43] The text of Johnson's 'Life of Watts' is overwhelmed by footnotes in which Palmer debates Johnson's points and adds further information (often by referring to Gibbons's biography). It is followed by a 'Supplement to Dr. Gibbons's Character' of Watts and 'An Authentic Account of Dr. Watts's last avowed sentiments concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity'. The work separates Watts from the company of poets and places him back in a dissenting context. The nature of this recontextualisation is made explicit by the inclusion of the additional materials. Watts should be known primarily by his religious identity, this volume reminds readers, and Palmer reinforces the point that Watts already has a biographer among the dissenters.

Palmer's principal purpose in the 'Animadversions and Additions' is to improve on Johnson's biography. He claims to enhance Johnson's factual content by including a full list of the pieces published in Watts's *Works* (1753) and attempts to secure Watts's literary legacy differently, noting that Johnson neglects to discuss Watts's practical divinity writings and questioning his assessment of Watts's poetry.[44] Motivating Palmer's 'Animadversions and Additions' is his concern that Johnson has misunderstood both Watts and dissent. The crux of Palmer's disagreement with Johnson is the latter's presentation of

[43] Samuel Palmer, *The Life of the Rev. Isaac Watts, D.D. By the Late Dr. Samuel Johnson, with Notes. Containing Animadversions and Additions Relating to Dr. Watts's Character, Writings, and Sentiments, particularly on the Trinity* (London, 1785), hereafter referred to as 'Animadversions and Additions'. There was a second edition in 1791 with a new preface and appendix. Each version of the work will be identified in these notes by the year of publication.
[44] Palmer, 'Animadversions and Additions' (1785), 11-12, 20, 25.

Watts as exemplary 'in all but his non-conformity'. Palmer asks 'Is not this exception, and even the mention of this circumstance, a striking proof of Dr. Johnson's bigotted attachment to the national established mode of worship?', and over three pages discourses on belief in freedom of conscience being a reasonable basis for refusal to conform to the Articles of the Church of England, and the illogical nature of Johnson's attack on nonconformity.[45] He offers an alternative final sentence to the 'Life of Watts':

> Dr. Johnson therefore had much better have said, "Happy indeed is the reader who is disposed by his verses or his prose, to imitate him in his impartial enquiry after truth, and in following the dictates of his own conscience, in his reverence towards God and his benevolence to men, whether he be a conformist or a Nonconformist."[46]

Palmer positions the enquiries after truth that Watts undertook in the *Philosophical Essays*, and the guidance he offered to students on how to conduct such enquiries themselves in his educational works, at the centre of his religious and pedagogical project. Johnson's attempt to separate Watts's legacy into elements suitable for everyone and aspects only of interest to nonconformists was, in Palmer's view, a nonsense.

Palmer's rewriting of Johnson at the close of his 'Animadversions and Additions' developed into a hydra-like textual project in which he addressed writings on the Trinity, on freedom of conscience, and on Watts from across the ecclesiological spectrum from Anglican to Unitarian. Samuel Johnson's 'Life of Watts' with Palmer's 'Animadversions and Additions' was repackaged for a new edition in 1791 which added a fresh preface and a third 'Appendix' of 'an additional account of *Dr. Watts's Manuscripts,* and an Abstract of a Correspondence between him and the *Rev. Martin Tomkins*, on the Worship of the Holy Spirit, and on Trinitarian Doxologies'. The first part of this appendix uses Thomas Stedman's edition of Doddridge's correspondence to summarise letters from Nathaniel Neal (Watts's executor) to Doddridge, to establish the corpus of Watts's work at the time of his death, and to show that Watts had not written anything new on the subject of the Trinity after 1746 (when Watts made

[45] Palmer, 'Animadversions and Additions' (1785), 25.
[46] Palmer, 'Animadversions and Additions' (1785), 32.

his will). Palmer uses the chronology of the manuscripts to show that Watts did not compose any pieces expressing changed views subsequent to his epistolary exchanges with Martin Tomkins in 1738, in which he propounded his view that 'Christ is a divine person in consequence of the in-dwelling of the Father, and that the Holy Spirit is God, as being the power, or active energy, of the Deity.'[47]

Given that Palmer's project in this publication was partly to protect Watts's reputation from the claims of his anti-trinitarianism made by the more heterodox wing of dissent, one might expect him to be as hostile to them as he was to Johnson and others. On the contrary, he uses his preface to the second edition as an opportunity to reunite the voices of dissent:

> The Rev. Mr. *Lindsey*, in his *Second Address to the Students at Oxford and Cambridge* (a work in which he strongly testifies his disapprobation of some of Dr. Watts's opinions which the author of the *Notes* has favoured) is pleased to express himself, with regard to the work in general, in the following candid and respected terms, P. 3 "The public, who wish thoroughly to know Dr. Watts's character and sentiments, and who have no opportunity of perusing his voluminous works, are under great obligations to the ingenious author of *The Life of the Rev. Isaac Watts, D.D. By the late Dr. Samuel Johnson, with Notes*, containing animadversions and additions. From this publication the citations are here made." Such testimonies from gentlemen whose sentiments are so different from his own (however obnoxious to some of his friends) he considers as more favourable to his work, than any from persons in his own scheme of divinity, and he takes this opportunity of expressing his obligations for their candour.[48]

Despite differences of opinion, Watts is used as a conduit for demonstrating dissenting harmony to the world. Including Lindsey's statement allows Palmer to publicly announce his gratitude to Lindsey while maintaining his own, and Watts's, distance from the Unitarian Lindsey's group. It evokes the idea of a community among dissenters and demonstrates the courteous conduct of disagreement between them, which contrasts with Palmer's description of the shrill attacks of members of the Church of England.

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[47] Palmer, 'Animadversions and Additions' (1791), sig. c 4v.
[48] Palmer, 'Animadversions and Additions' (1791), sig. b2; Theophilus Lindsey, *A Second Address to the Students of Oxford and Cambridge, Relating to Jesus Christ* (London, 1790). In this work, Lindsey blamed Watts's early education for his failure to see where his arguments about the Trinity might lead. Its epigraph was taken from Watts's 'Address to the Deity'. See Albert Nicholson, 'Lindsey, Theophilus (1723–1808)', rev. G. M. Ditchfield, *ODNB*.

Palmer reframed Johnson's 'Life of Watts' into 'Animadversions and Additions' that would inform current debates about the proposed repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts.[49] He also published broader defences of nonconformity. In the preface to one of these Palmer makes it clear that it was the publication of the text to which he was responding rather than primarily the facts about Watts that triggered this politicisation of Watts's memory:

> I intended nothing more than to write a brief answer to some injurious reflections of Mr *Hawkins* at the end of his *Bampton-Lecture* sermons, upon certain *NOTES* of mine on *Dr. JOHNSON'S Life of Dr. WATTS* . . . but when I came to notice his severe censure of the modern Dissenters . . . I was naturally led in my defence of them, to introduce something in reference to the present subject of warm debate, relative to the Dissenters.[50]

The 'severe censure of the modern Dissenters' that is attached to accusations directed at Watts is Palmer's concern:

> Had you contented yourself with opposing Dr. *Watts*'s sentiments, you would have heard nothing from me. But you have thrown out such censures respecting the disposition of his mind in the pursuit of his enquiries, as not only tend to injure his character, but the cause of truth in general.[51]

Palmer's purpose in the collection of published letters he titled *A Vindication of the Modern Dissenters* is to stress the liberality of dissent, and to contrast it with the dogmatic and untruthful modes of debate prevalent in the established church. In the fourth letter (to Samuel Horsley, 'the Right Reverend Author of the Review of the Case of the Protestant Dissenters') his argument shifts away from

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[49] For information on the political background to this debate in 1789-90, see Watts, *The Dissenters*, II, 349, 379 and Thomas W. Davies, 'Introduction' to *Committees for Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts: Minutes 1786-90 and 1827-8* (London, 1978), vii-xxvi.

[50] Samuel Palmer, *A Vindication of the Modern Dissenters Against the Aspersions of the Rev. William Hawkins, M.A. in his Bampton-Lecture Sermons, and the Right Reverend Author of A Review of the Case of the Protestant Dissenters, with Reference to the Corporation and Test Acts. Intended as a Supplement to Dr Johnson's Life of Dr. Watts with Notes* (London, 1790), sig. A2. Hawkins, an Anglican clergyman and man of letters, was a staunch defender of religious orthodoxy: see Gail Baylis, 'Hawkins, William (1721–1801)', *ODNB*.

[51] Palmer, *A Vindication of the Modern Dissenters*, 3.

the person of Watts and on to the history of dissent.[52] He follows a quotation from the text he is answering which contends 'that the principles of a Non-conformist in religion, and a Republican in politics are inseparably united' with a call for liberal reading which lists three of his supposed adversaries as models of loyal and polite writing. Responding to the accusation that Joseph Priestley, Richard Price and Andrew Kippis are not patriots, Palmer says they have been misquoted, and insists they are models of loyalty:

> For the falsehood of these suggestions, it is sufficient to appeal to the history of the Dissenters ever since the revolution, to the acknowledgments of many of your own church, or to the publications of our *approved* writers, of whom some that have been the most suspected, have passed the highest encomiums on the English constitution, and strenuously defended the fundamental principles of it.*
> *The most unequivocal passages of this kind might be produced from the writings of Dr. *Price*, Dr. *Kippis*, and Dr. *Priestley*. A few detached sentences prove nothing.[53]

The tendency to make Watts representative of the whole of dissent is a problem Palmer addresses. In *A Vindication of the Modern Dissenters* he insists that the political debate be widened to consider the full range of consequences of dissenting insistence on liberty of conscience, while in 'Animadversions and Additions' he addresses the task of resituating Watts within a dissenting literary tradition. In response to Johnson's claim that before Watts, dissenters' writings were 'obscured and blunted by coarseness and inelegance of style', Palmer asks:

> What occasion had Dr. Johnson for this sarcasm? If the Dissenters had universally been as destitute of the graces of language as he supposes, surely they might have learnt something from the more polished compositions of the established clergy, to whose works they were not utter strangers.[54]

Palmer constructs his defence of dissenting learning as a historical point. He does not accept Johnson's restatement of the conventional argument about the

[52] Samuel Horsley became embroiled in a lengthy controversy with Priestley concerning the doctrines of the early church. He was a committed opponent of the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts: see Robert Hole, 'Horsley, Samuel (1733–1806)', *ODNB*.
[53] Palmer, *A Vindication of the Modern Dissenters*, 28.
[54] Palmer, 'Animadversions and Additions' (1785), 12.

rudeness of dissenting literary style relative to that of establishment writers, and he firmly situates the debate in terms of the writings of ministers and not poets: 'Divines of all parties at that period were less attentive to the graces of language that they have been since' he says, resisting Johnson's portrayal of Watts as an isolated genius. He even claims that 'there is no evidence that they afterwards owed their improvement to Dr. Watts', adding 'Nor indeed does it appear that Dr. Watts's style altogether deserves the encomium here passed on it'.[55] Palmer's exemplar of a graceful dissenting writer is the ejected minister William Bates, and the dissenters Benjamin Grosvenor, John Evans and James Foster are identified as equally important writers from Watts's generation. Another version of the collective memorialisation of dissenters that began with Baxter and Calamy emerges here, as Palmer celebrates the learning and eloquence of a group of dissenters overlooked by the establishment. As well as the text of the 'Life of Watts' being placed within a collection of dissenting sources about his life, Watts the writer is recontextualised into a more fitting literary history than that provided by Johnson.

There was little unity of theme or purpose in biographical portrayals of Watts written within or outside dissent. Johnson's 'Life' did not pave the way for a flood of secular biographies which extolled Watts as a poet. Biographical presentations of him in collections of lives – both Anglican and dissenting – emphasised his exemplarity as a man of piety and learning. The drive to establish an uncontroversial, fixed version of 'Watts' within dissent competed with heterodox claims about Watts's views on the Trinity which were often repeated in periodicals at the end of the century.[56] All sides used print to promote their arguments. Though Palmer used Gibbons to counter Johnson as the primary factual source in his 'Animadversions and Additions', the aims of these two dissenters were not the same, and Palmer did not align himself with conservative protectors of Watts any more than he did with those claiming Watts for the heterodox party:

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[55] Palmer, 'Animadversions and Additions' (1785), 13.

[56] Lardner's letters contained speculation about Watts's views, as Badcock revealed in a review of a compendium of psalms in *Monthly Review*, 66 (1782), 170-1. Belsham also discusses the letters in his account of Lindsey's view of Watts's anti-trinitarianism: see Thomas Belsham, *Memoirs of the Late Reverend Theophilus Lindsey* (London, 1812), 216-21. Palmer rebutted these claims: see *Monthly Repository*, 9 (1813), 714-23. For Badcock's authorship of the Williams review, see Nangle, *The Monthly Review*, I, 222.

> If Dr. *Watts*, in the last years of his life, differed from his brethren in his manner of explaining some points, usually called orthodox, he can see no reason why it should be concealed. The knowledge of such a fact he judges to be of peculiar use to promote candour towards persons of different opinions, especially towards those who are zealous for evangelical sentiments.[57]

In Palmer's interpretation, the figure of Watts brings together the opposite poles of dissent in the later eighteenth century: heterodox and evangelical.

Thomas Milner's 1834 biography of Watts began with a (borrowed) survey of biographical writings on Watts that observes 'biography was certainly not Dr Gibbons's forte' and, though it underplayed the place of the Palmer materials in the story (describing them as 'an unhappy effort'), it articulated a version of Palmer's criticism of Johnson's life, that it is 'better adapted to his *poetical* than his *ministerial* character'.[58] Milner regretted that Doddridge had not written a biography of Watts: 'The individual best qualified for such a work, by personal knowledge and frequent correspondence, was the incomparable Doddridge'.[59] At the time Milner published this opinion, two biographies of Doddridge had been written by men who fulfilled the criteria of 'personal knowledge' and 'frequent correspondence'. The kinds of portrait these 'best qualified' biographers of Doddridge produced offer a very different model for the posthumous biographical construction of a reputation to the scrappy, contested and often undignified process of memorialising Watts.

2. Job Orton's *Memoirs*

In 1766, fourteen years after his death (and a decade before any biography of Watts), the first full biography of Doddridge was published, written by his former student, former assistant, literary executor and close friend Job Orton. The preface to Orton's *Memoirs* makes it emphatically clear this is a Christian biography. It is not the life story of a great man who happens to be a minister; Doddridge is a fit subject for a biography precisely *because* he is a minister.

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[57] Samuel Palmer, 'Animadversions and Admissions' (London, 1785), sig. b2v.
[58] Thomas Milner, *The Life, Times and Correspondence of the Rev. Isaac Watts, D.D.* (London, 1834), x-xi, quoting John Blackburn writing in the *Congregational Magazine* for February 1832.
[59] Milner, *Watts*, viii.

Orton articulates the conventional claim that biography should 'entertain and amuse' but rejects it as too limited a purpose for this 'life', which seeks to change the behaviour of its readers:

> The lives of holy, zealous Ministers are particularly useful; as in them may be seen a Pattern of a christian Conversation for all, and of ministerial Faithfulness and Activity for their Brethren; and thus the good Influence of such Examples may be widely diffused.[60]

Characterising Doddridge as part of a collective of 'holy, zealous Ministers' situates this particular life in a genealogy of exemplary life writing, and hints at the tradition of group memorialisation of dissenting ministers: but in emphasising his zeal and revealing his private writings it also, Orton suggests at the end of the 'Preface', holds a risk:

> Some, when they have gone thro' this Life, or perhaps only dipped into it, may pronounce, or think, the *Doctor* an Enthusiast, because there was so much of a devotional Spirit in him, and he lay some Stress on his particular Feelings and Impressions. This is the Random-charge of the Day.[61]

To counteract the 'Random-charge' and to remind readers of another dimension to Doddridge's image, as well as offering a route into the 'Life' for non-dissenters, Doddridge's role as a tutor is foregrounded in this introduction. The biography of an educator, it is proposed, will be of interest to multiple groups: the subject's former students, other tutors, and an audience from beyond the world of dissent, for it 'may tend to remove some prejudices, if such remain, against their Seminaries, as if they were Nurseries of Schism, Enthusiasm and Faction'.[62] The form of memorial enacted by this work is not a static picture of the past. In the case of Doddridge's former students, Orton intends that the memory of their tutor will activate a renewed energy and diligence in their own ministerial work. The denomination of the students this work is intended for is not specified or restricted to dissenters:

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[60] Orton, *Memoirs*, iii-iv.
[61] Orton, *Memoirs*, x.
[62] Orton, *Memoirs*, iv.

> My principal Intention was to consult the Advantage of *young Ministers and Students in Divinity*, who may be directed and animated by so fair a Model, in which the Scholar and christian Minister are so happily united . . . but I hope that others too, whatever their Station and Profession may be, will receive Improvement from an attentive Perusal of this Life.[63]

Orton's emphasis on 'Care, Self-denial and Resolution' reminds readers once again that this work should be considered within the tradition of exemplary lives, and as such be used as a practical guide.

Orton initially presents his qualifications for writing Doddridge's life with diffidence, assuring readers that he had sought a more skilful author, but quickly sets out the benefits his close personal acquaintance with Doddridge will bring to this biography and to its readers:

> I shall dwell chiefly on those exemplary Effects, which the sincere and lively Piety of the *Doctor's* Heart produced, in a beautiful Correspondence to those Circumstances in life in which he was placed. Herein perhaps modern Writers of Lives have been defective; either from a mistaken Apprehension, that it was of little Moment, or, as I would rather hope, thro' Want of Materials. Had I satisfied myself with Giving an Account of his public and literary Character, especially if I could have embellished it with the Beauties of Description and Language, it might have been more agreeable to the modern Taste, and the politer Part of my Readers. But I am fully convinced, it is the more private Part of a Man's Character, from which we may expect the greatest Benefit.[64]

Given their politically marginalised status, dissenters could never be national leaders or politicians. Orton's biography exhibits a tendency to extol Doddridge's exemplarity and to present his life as a godly man hagiographically, while also wishing to provide a truthful, attentive portrait of a real man – not a national figure – as a memorial. There were no affairs of state to be described in a life of Doddridge, but his example as a private individual could, thought Orton, be influential.[65] Elsewhere, Orton recommended reading biography, and enumerated its benefits:

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[63] Orton, *Memoirs*, xiii. In this, Orton echoes Doddridge's 'Life of Thomas Steffe': see Chapter one, section five above.
[64] Orton, *Memoirs*, v.
[65] See Michael McKeon, 'Biography, Fiction, and "Identity" ', in *Writing Lives*, ed. Sharpe and Zwicker, 339-54 (339-43).

> [it] will give you a good acquaintance with our history in general, with particular persons and their writings, and above all will furnish you with many little anecdotes and stories to insert in your sermons, which will entertain and edify your hearers.[66]

Orton's emphasis on the convergence of private character and general usefulness explicitly invites a non-dissenting audience, and the memorial impulse in his work is directed less towards preserving the past and traditions, and more towards an attempt to show Doddridge as an innovator and as a new kind of dissenter. Because of Doddridge, contends Orton, dissent became politer and dissenting teaching began to appeal to those from the establishment, all in the recent past.

This is not to say that Orton abandoned the traditions of dissenting life writing. He cites the seventeenth-century dissenting biographer John Howe's view that revealing personal documents could be made public for the instruction of others, and invokes the biographical subject Philip Henry as a model for his own work. Henry, an ejected minister, had lived in Shropshire (as Orton did while he was composing the *Memoirs*) and offered some education to trainee dissenting ministers. Orton had edited and slightly revised Matthew Henry's biography of his father.[67] This edition, published only a year before his biography of Doddridge, shares some of its concerns, and there are indications of conscious transmission of the themes and forms of older dissenting biography into the new work. The biography of Henry, like that of Doddridge, combines fact and exemplarity. However it is much more politically grounded, for halfway through Henry's life the social and educational privileges he had enjoyed were sharply reversed. The tenor of the work is one of hurt remembrance: the Civil Wars were within living memory and Matthew Henry had grown up in penal times. Orton dedicated his new edition to Philip Henry's descendants and claimed to have only changed some words and omitted some information given by Matthew Henry which also appears in Calamy. The very few notes he adds mark Matthew Henry's role as minister and author of the *Exposition of the Old*

[66] Job Orton to Thomas Stedman, 10 June 1772. Thomas Stedman, *Letters to a Young Clergyman*, 2 vols. (Shrewsbury,1791; repr. with notes, 1805), I, 40.
[67] Matthew Henry, *An Account of the Life and Death of Mr Philip Henry*, ed. Job Orton (Shrewsbury, 1765). Henry's biography was originally published in 1698.

and New Testament and make reference to Henry's friend, the minister Richard Steele.[68] His additions, that is, emphasise the presence of other ministers and published works in the life of Philip Henry, enhancing the sense of a community of dissenters and their contributions to learning. Both of these are features of Orton's *Memoirs*, which refers to Doddridge's associates and emphasises their shared educational and publishing endeavours. Isaac Watts appears as a supporter of Doddridge's scheme to open a new dissenting academy and as the person to propose that Doddridge write *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*. Depictions of Doddridge's mentors, particularly 'his friend and Counsellor' Samuel Clark – who guides his education, reads through sections of *The Family Expositor*, and helps him compose *Principles of the Christian Religion in Verse* (1743) – are woven into the material of Doddridge's life.[69]

Orton's priorities are evident from the space he devotes to different aspects of Doddridge's life and work: there are three chapters on education (his own and that of his academy), two on his ministry, and one on his published writings. Doddridge's academy is described in one of the longest chapters, reflecting Orton's view that this was one of the pillars on which Doddridge's reputation ought to rest. Given that it was less widely known outside the world of dissent than his publications, it required a fuller account in the *Memoirs*. True to Orton's prefatory promise to delineate a private man, the chapter on 'His private Character' occupies half the volume. It is divided into eight sections, each one attending to a particular virtue: 'his uncommon Diligence', 'His Catholicism', 'His Benevolence, Affability, public Spirit, and Liberality', 'His Piety towards GOD', and others. These conventional categories provide a framework within which to set out Doddridge's exemplarity, but Orton's project of explaining away criticisms of Doddridge as an enthusiast, as disingenuous, and as susceptible to flattery forces him into some awkward manoeuvres. Sketching Doddridge's humility, for example, Orton quotes from *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul* and from the sermons of Fothergill (which Doddridge recommended to his students) to represent Doddridge's public utterances on 'the

[68] Orton makes remarkably few additions compared to other editors at this time: see *An Account of the Life and Death of Mr Philip Henry*, 51, 66, 92.
[69] Orton, *Memoirs*, 27, 138.

Love of Popular applause [being] a Meanness', but he is compelled to admit that Doddridge might have been influenced by the public esteem which he enjoyed:

> The Desire of extending his Usefulness, falling-in with the natural Courteousness of his Temper, might perhaps incline him to set too high a Value upon the good Opinion of the World in general, and render him too solicitous to obtain it.[70]

Rather than proving Doddridge's humility, Orton offers quotations from Doddridge's diary showing that he chastised himself for his worldliness, and from his correspondence to prove that Doddridge expressed pleasure in the success of his published works only in terms of how this might further God's work.[71] Orton's strategy allows him to articulate criticisms made of Doddridge in his lifetime and offer a positive interpretation of them, though not entirely smoothly or convincingly. Orton's presentation of Doddridge was supported by other dissenters. He wrote to Samuel Palmer articulating his hopes for the publication, and Palmer included the letter, with an explanatory footnote, in his edition of Orton's correspondence:

> My "Life of Dr. DODDRIDGE" goes on slowly on account of my illness. I hope I shall sufficiently vindicate his character in every instance, especially that you mention, and shew the unprejudiced world the dishonesty or folly of his accusers.*
>
> *My principal design in writing to Mr. ORTON at this time was, to express my hope that in his intended "Life of Dr. Doddridge," he would vindicate his character from a charge which, with great concern, I had often heard brought against that excellent man, which tended to excite a prejudice against him and his writings; viz. that of "duplicity and trimming", to please all parties. The grounds of this charge, and the able refutation of it, may be seen in Mr. ORTON's Life of the Doctor, *Chap*. viii. §7. p. 257-270, 8vo.[72]

[70] Orton, *Memoirs*, 226, 228.
[71] Orton, *Memoirs*, 230-2.
[72] Job Orton to Samuel Palmer, 10 August 1765. *Letters to Dissenting Ministers*, I, 114. Doddridge sought to avoid exacerbating divisions between parties. He wrote to George Lyttelton 'tho I am a Dissenter on principle, and as the Terms of Conformity at present are dare not in conscience comply with them, yet I always avoid both in my sermons and writings and private conversation what ever tends to irritate.' Philip Doddridge to George Lyttelton, 14 March 1747/8. *Cal*. 1322.

Palmer's recommendation of Orton's *Memoirs* at this juncture attests that orthodox dissenters considered he had been successful in his attempt to produce a respectable version of Doddridge. In his preface, Orton emphasises that he has been able to use Doddridge's private papers in order to construct the portrait and the *Memoirs* is studded with quotations from Doddridge's journal and letters. Though this appears to allow readers access to the private thoughts of the subject, Orton's use of these materials is, of course, selective. He had a strong sense of his role in protecting the memory of Doddridge, and decided that his selection from among Doddridge's papers published in the *Memoirs* should constitute the available Doddridge archive for the future. Everything omitted was unsuitable for public eyes. Orton told Mercy Doddridge, 'After I have made the proper Extracts, I should be desirous to destroy his early Diaries, for the reasons you yourself hint'.[73] Twenty-five years later, Thomas Stedman passed on to Doddridge's daughter Mercy a report from one of Orton's executors:

> M^{r} Wood says – "I have examin'd y^{e} manuscripts left by M^{r} Orton, & can find only one Book of Letters written by D^{r} Doddridge; upon which there is ty'd a Slip of paper, on which paper M^{r} Orton hath written as follows – This is a Collection of D^{r} Doddridge's Letters in early Life, in which there are many that are truly excellent. I made use of them in y^{e} History of his Life, & as some of them are not fit to be seen except by his Relations & especially his children, I desire they may be return'd to M^{rs} Doddridge or her Daughter Mercy, who I suppose is y^{e} only child of his which can read them."[74]

Orton had acquired these papers from Mercy Doddridge, indicating that she trusted Orton to make good use of the materials and to keep them safe. This is in striking contrast to Orton's distrust of all subsequent potential readers of Doddridge's diaries and letters. While the urge to conceal information unsuitable for publication has often been assumed of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century editors and biographers, it is unusual to hear the tendency articulated so clearly by an agent himself. Orton was convinced that by publishing extracts of Doddridge's papers he had appropriately mediated between the private man and the public figure, and that the selected extracts from the papers superseded the

[73] Job Orton to Mercy Doddridge, 14 May 1764. DWL MS NCL L.1/8/49.
[74] Thomas Stedman to Miss Mercy Doddridge, 24 October 1789. DWL MS NCL L.1/8/179. Stedman's final remark indicates that these letters are in shorthand; it is likely they were the basis of Stedman's transcription of Doddridge's early letters now held at JRUL, UCC MS B2.

documents themselves. Orton saw his task as being to generate a positive reputation for Doddridge; he did not see the preservation and making accessible of these diaries and letters as his responsibility, or as something to be encouraged.

The need to guard Doddridge's papers from unqualified readers was matched by anxiety about publicising the scheme of composing the biography: 'I shall keep the Design as secret as I can – No one has seen my MS but M^{r} Clark, & he w^{d} perhaps give you some general Account of it – Few know of my design' he told Mercy Doddridge.[75] In the same letter he observed 'I imagine there are very few people will be pleased & satisfied with every Thing in such a Work drawn up by me' and 'The Censure of Party-Men, which I must expect, I regard not', indicating he was concerned that denunciations of the project might appear in print if 'party men' or Orton's opponents learned about the project.[76] In addition to Orton's contorted efforts to contain and dismiss criticisms of Doddridge within the frame he created, his reluctance to include anything unseemly demonstrates extreme caution. Facts as well as materials require protection from the eyes of strangers. 'His Kindness to his Sister cannot be mentioned, without hinting at her Husband's Conduct, w^{ch} s^{hd} not be done' he decided, with the result that the nature of John Nettleton's misconduct is still not known.[77] Orton's biography conceals impolite details and negative interpretations of the lives of Doddridge and his circle, with the result that his claims to provide 'a just Idea of his inward Sentiments' are compromised.[78] To Orton, his work held the need for truth and the concern for seemliness in balance, and he was content with the response to it in these terms, observing to Mercy Doddridge 'I have the pleasure to hear that it has convinced some Persons of Sense & Reading, who were prejudiced ag^{t} the D^{rs} Character & writings, that he was not only an honest but an excellent & extraordinary Man' and noting that of the thousand copies printed, Eddowes had sold over 300 and Buckland over 250;

[75] Job Orton to Mercy Doddridge, 14 May 1764. DWL MS NCL L.1/8/49.
[76] He may also have feared that an alternative narrative of Doddridge's life might be rushed through the press.
[77] Job Orton to Mercy Doddridge, 6 February 1765. DWL MS NCL L.1/8/58. Given his insistence on restricting public access to private records, Orton would probably have been horrified by the publication of Palmer's *Letters to Dissenting Ministers*, which opened with a letter in which Orton criticised aspects of Doddridge's academy.
[78] Orton, *Memoirs*, vi.

that is, half the run had been sold in a month.[79] The work was translated into Dutch in 1768 and German in 1769, and remained the primary source for biographical accounts of Doddridge until Malcolm Deacon's in 1980.[80] But Orton himself was equivocal as to whether the work had effected its purpose. He wrote to Thomas Stedman that '*those* who I think on many accounts, should have paid the greatest attention to it, have regarded it least'.[81]

3. Andrew Kippis, print and national culture

Orton's declarations of his own inadequacy as a writer and professed anxiety that the *Memoirs* would be dismissed as 'a designed Panegyrick' were not reiterated by Doddridge's next biographer Andrew Kippis though he did claim in the preface to volume V of *Biographia Britannica* (1793) to be 'apprehensive of being charged with some degree of partiality' on account of the length of the biography of Doddridge relative to all the others in the volume.[82] Kippis justifies the length on various grounds: it has historical value as a contribution to the history of dissent, for 'the history of sects constitutes a part of the general ecclesiastical and literary history of any country', and should be of interest to members of the Church of England because of Doddridge's many connections in the world beyond his immediate community. Kippis also makes aesthetic and moral claims for the content. The article was originally written as a biographical preface to the seventh edition of *The Family Expositor* (1792), and Kippis says it could not be abridged without making it 'less interesting', besides which 'Nothing will be found in the article which can give just cause of offence'.[83] Kippis's final reason for the article on Doddridge appearing as it does is

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[79] Job Orton to Mercy Doddridge, 15 February 1766. DWL MS NCL L.1/8/61.
[80] Job Orton, *Gedenkschriften van het Leven, Karakter, en Geschriften, van . . . Philip Doddridge* (Rotterdam, 1768) and *Nachrichten von dem Leben, Character und Schriften des Philip Doddridge* (Leipzig, 1769). Nineteenth-century biographies of Doddridge include Stoughton, *Philip Doddridge: his Life and Labours* and Stanford, *Philip Doddridge, D.D.*, neither of which show evidence of archival research.
[81] Job Orton to Thomas Stedman, postscript dated 6 November 1772. *Letters to a Young Clergyman*, I, 66.
[82] Orton, *Memoirs*, xi; *Biographia Britannica*, V, sig. [Av]. Kippis was general editor of the second edition of the *Biographical Britannica*. He made a contract with a group of booksellers on 22 February 1776 according to which he would be paid 100 guineas for each of eight volumes of around 200 sheets each. The contract is bound into the first volume of the Bodleian Library copy, shelfmark I 1. 7 Art. See Rivers, 'Biographical Dictionaries', 156.
[83] *Biographia Britannica*, V, sig. [Av].

personal: Doddridge was 'my benefactor, friend, and father'. This association is presented in Doddridgean terms as giving reason enough for emotion winning out over pragmatism: if 'the feelings of the heart have been superior to the dictates of the understanding', the reader will understand and will not censure.[84]

Orton established Doddridge as a private man and example of piety through the structure of his *Memoirs*. While Kippis's life details the final months of Doddridge's life at some length, his account principally presents Doddridge through his public actions, relationships and publications. Despite these differences of structure, there is a close connection between the two accounts, which Kippis sees as complementary. At various points he refers readers to Orton's *Memoirs*:

> It would carry us beyond the limits that must be assigned to the present narrative, to describe, at large, the diligence, zeal, and fervour, with which Mr. Doddridge discharged his pastoral duty. This matter is fully insisted upon by Mr Orton, to whom we must refer for a more minute detail of particulars.[85]

Kippis's choice here *not* to attend particularly closely to Doddridge's pastoral role is indicative of his aims for the biography of constructing Doddridge primarily as a teacher and a man of letters. He also attempts a more balanced assessment of Doddridge than Orton had offered. In his consideration of Doddridge's preaching he quotes Orton's high praise of Doddridge's sermons but suggests that it requires 'some slight degree of abatement', as Doddridge's sermons were not consistent throughout his ministry. Kippis even cites an instance (absent from Orton's *Memoirs*) of Orton himself transmitting a criticism to Doddridge:

> Once, during my residence with him, a number of pupils complained, through the medium of Mr. Orton, that, though their revered tutor's academical lectures were admirable, they had not in him a sufficiently correct model of pulpit composition. The consequence of the intimation was, that his sermons became far superior to what they had sometimes formerly been; for he was the most candid of all men to the voice of gentle admonition.[86]

[84] *Biographia Britannica*, V, sig. [Av].
[85] *Biographia Britannica*, V, 275.
[86] *Biographia Britannica*, V, 275.

Kippis is not fearful of damaging Doddridge's reputation, or that of his academy, by revealing criticisms of Doddridge or moments of potential discord within Doddridge's household. To Kippis, this incident offers an example of Doddridge's virtue, showing him humbly accepting advice from those younger and less experienced than himself.

As well as offering alternative interpretations and engaging with Orton's assessments ('Upon the whole, I entirely agree with Mr. Orton'), Kippis relies on Orton for facts, making frequent and specific references to the work.[87] Another source is Thomas Stedman's edition of Doddridge's correspondence (1790), which had not been published when Orton wrote the *Memoirs*. Kippis uses the letters as a source of factual information (in particular, lengthy passages detailing the reception of Doddridge's published works), but also as evidence for Doddridge's diverse social network. He draws attention to Doddridge's epistolary relationships with members of the Church of England, particularly fellows of Oxford and Cambridge colleges, which reminds us 'how much he was esteemed, and how highly he was thought of, by the first religious and literary characters of the age'.[88] Kippis supplements his textual sources with his own memories and interpretations of Doddridge's behaviour. This is partly documentary in purpose – Kippis is using his knowledge to add to the historical record – but also openly driven by Kippis's educational philosophy. Orton's quotation of Doddridge's wish that he could have educated ministerial and lay students separately is cited by Kippis in order to express his own contrary view that 'considerable advantages may, and do, arise from the connection of lay-pupils with those who are intended for divinity'. Kippis also presents an account of the dissenting academies at Warrington, Hoxton and Hackney, at the latter two of which Kippis had been a tutor.[89] Asking 'May I be permitted to offer a brief sketch of theological education?', Kippis interrupts the biography to set out his suggestions for a comprehensive theological training which are directed towards dissenters but must, given their presence in the *Biographia Britannica*, have been

[87] *Biographia Britannica*, V, 303. References to Orton's *Memoirs* are indicated in the margins of Kippis's biography. The harmony between different biographical accounts of Doddridge is in marked contrast to the discordance between competing versions of Watts's life and character.
[88] *Biographia Britannica*, V, 304.
[89] *Biographia Britannica*, V, 283.

intended to describe dissenting education to readers from outside that community.[90] Kippis does not state that this is to prove that dissenting academies might be compared favourably with the universities, but the invitation to do so is implicit.

The presence of Kippis's voice – and his eagerness to engage in dialogue with earlier sources and to discourse on contemporary educational practices – is a strong feature of his biography, which seeks to contain multiple perspectives within the form of this entry in a national biographical dictionary. Kippis's awareness of the status of the work as a national monument also informs his strategy of inserting information about other dissenters wherever possible.[91] A swift but detailed publishing history of John Jennings's *Two Discourses* which emphasises its international impact is given, and David Jennings is noted as 'an eminent minister and tutor in London'.[92] This tendency is characteristic of Kippis's biography, which takes every opportunity to name and describe Doddridge's associates among the dissenters. Kippis's notes on Nathaniel Neal, who is not mentioned at all in Orton's *Memoirs*, appropriately register one of Doddridge's close friendships.[93]

The figure of Orton himself provides the most striking example of Kippis's inclusive approach, for the biography of Doddridge is footnoted with a seven-page biography of Orton in double columns. This is the first published account of Orton's life and it is appropriate that a life of Doddridge should register the work of the most dedicated guardian of his memory.[94] The effect of Kippis's emphasis on Doddridge's connections is that his participation in the community of dissenters is much more visible here than it is in Orton's biography, which refers to Doddridge's mentors but not to his contemporaries or

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[90] *Biographia Britannica*, V, 283-4.
[91] The first edition of *Biographia Britannica* explicitly set out its aim to be a national monument: see Rivers, 'Biographical Dictionaries', 153. Kippis emphasised the connection between the two works by reproducing the preface to the first volume of the first edition in the first volume of the second edition: see *Biographia Britannica: or, The Lives of the Most Eminent Persons who have Flourished in Great Britain and Ireland*, 7 vols. (London, 1747-66) and *Biographia Britannica*, I, vii-xxi.
[92] *Biographia Britannica*, V, 269.
[93] *Biographia Britannica*, V, 287-8.
[94] Orton is warmly described by Stedman in the preface to *Letters to a Young Clergyman* and extracts from this life by Kippis are used by Palmer in the introduction to *Letters to Dissenting Ministers*. Biographical accounts of Orton also appeared in the *Universal Theological Magazine*, 3 (1803) and as part of a review of *Letters to Dissenting Ministers*: see *Monthly Repository*, 1 (1806), 257-61, 301-5. The review declared that Orton was an Arian without realising it.

successors. The sense of the dissenters as a social and cultural community is evoked for a wide audience, and a national dictionary is shown to be able to register personal relationships, private emotions, and the connections among communities.

Part of Kippis's purpose as editor of the second edition of the *Biographia Britannica*, then, was to treat the idea of 'national' biography in its widest sense. A review of the first volume of the new edition in the *New Annual Register* helpfully explained to readers what the work was trying to achieve, and some of its unique features:

> As the design is on a large scale, and, indeed, may be considered as a national work, it affords room for many historical and critical enquiries and discussions which could not be admitted in smaller publications.[95]

In this comprehensive view, Kippis was following the example of Britain's first national biographer, Thomas Fuller, whose *History of the Worthies of England* (1662) included among his 'memorable persons' those '*over*, *under*, or *beside the Standard* of Common persons for *strength*, *stature*, *fruitfulness*, *Vivacity* or other observable eminence' as well as those more conventionally defined as memorable for their birth or achievements.[96] Kippis's idea of a national monument allowed both a similarly inclusive view of the lives to be incorporated, and space for fuller treatments of the sources of those narratives. The life of Doddridge, with its extensive references to biographical and epistolary sources, summaries of the lives of other dissenters, and authorial discourses on the state of education, embodies both these ambitions.

Kippis's biography of Doddridge was a remarkably mobile document, appearing in different print locations. As well as prefacing the seventh edition of *The Family Expositor* (1792), it was abridged in the *New Annual Register* for 1792, the same periodical which had presented such a clear notice of the aims and advantages of the *Biographia Britannica* as a whole. Kippis devised the plan of the *New Annual Register* and was its founding editor, so the attention it paid to both dissenters and the *Biographia Britannica* – it reviewed every volume, and

[95] *New Annual Register* for 1784 (1785), 248.
[96] Thomas Fuller, *History of the Worthies of England* (London, 1662), 40.

published lives from it – is perhaps not surprising, and may have been self-serving.[97] The abridgement of his life of Doddridge in the *New Annual Register* (identified as belonging with *The Family Expositor*, and attributing authorship to Kippis) attends primarily to the 'intellectual . . . religious and moral qualities' of Doddridge, and comprises a description of his character and views rather than an account of his work as a tutor or a survey of his publications. Doddridge's learning, diligence, careful use of time, charitable social projects, attitude to prayer and extensive correspondence are all sketched. His weaknesses are delineated as clearly as his virtues: 'I do not know that genius can be ascribed to Dr. Doddridge', we are told, and 'the Candour of Dr. Doddridge's mind, relative to his sentiments of other persons' merit . . . was sometimes so excessive as to lead him to form a far better opinion of several of his acquaintances than in fact they deserved'.[98] Criticisms of Doddridge from within the dissenting community, that 'he used some particular phrases in his writings, in a sense different from that in which he himself understood them, in order to please a party', are also articulated.[99] Kippis adds that 'it was asserted, that he was a trimmer in the pulpit' and addresses both accusations by quoting Doddridge's own words and explaining what in Doddridge's writing and preaching might have given rise to the accusations.[100] This candour indicates that to Kippis, the necessity of providing a balanced portrait of Doddridge outweighed any impulse to present an idealisation of him.

Detaching the biography from its original context as a paratext to Doddridge's *Family Expositor*, and editing it to highlight his negative characteristics might appear to do the subject no favours. The reasons for publishing a relatively frank assessment of Doddridge's character in a periodical which aimed to be, in the words of its sub-title, a 'General Repository of History, Politics, and Literature for the year' are not immediately obvious. The first part of the *New Annual Register* gives detailed reports of parliamentary debates and political events and often attends to dissenters' efforts to bring about the repeal of legislation against them. Publishing the 'Life of Doddridge' after political

[97] Abraham Rees wrote 'He laid the foundation of the New Annual Register; and suggested the improved plan upon which that work is conducted' in *A Sermon . . . Upon the Occasion of the Much Lamented Death of the Rev. Andrew Kippis* (London, 1795), 44.
[98] *New Annual Register* for 1792 (1793), 35, 40.
[99] *New Annual Register* for 1792 (1793), 42.
[100] *New Annual Register* for 1792 (1793), 43-4.

reports and amid notices of significant publications declares that he is to be considered a national figure and suggests connections between religion, education and politics. It also prepares the way for his inclusion in the *Biographia Britannica*. It seeks to demonstrate Kippis's scholarly and impartial approach to biography, thereby confirming that he is a suitable general editor for a monument of national record. In so doing Kippis answers critics, such as Boswell, who claimed that as a sectarian he could not be trusted to produce a balanced work:

> [Johnson] told me, that he had been asked to undertake the new edition of the *Biographia Britannica*, but had declined it . . . and although my friend Dr. Kippis has hitherto discharged the task judiciously, distinctly, and with more impartiality than might have been expected from a Separatist, it were to have been wished that the superintendence of this literary Temple of Fame had been assigned to "a friend to the constitution in Church and State." We should not then have had it too much crowded with obscure dissenting teachers, doubtless men of merit and worth, but not quite to be numbered amongst "the most eminent persons who have flourished in Great Britain and Ireland."

Boswell later retracted the remark, regretting that 'in this censure which has been carelessly uttered, I carelessly joined.'[101]

Kippis's editorial practice was scrutinized, and was the subject of comment in the *Gentleman's Magazine.* A letter from 'An Old Correspondent' in 1789 charged:

> It is apparent, that the chief editor [of *Biographia Britannica*] did not attend to *Ne quid nimis*; that he undertook more than he can perform; that the mere cant of philosophy, and affected liberality of sentiment, pervade the Additions to the original work; that the able advocates of the Church of England are generally favoured with some stigma; that the names of Hoadly, Blackburne, Lindsey, and others of that stamp, are generally accompanied with epithets of applause; and that the work may now justly bear the title of *Vindicatio Schismatica*.[102]

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[101] *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, ed. George Birkbeck Hill and L. F. Powell, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1934), III, 174-6.

[102] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 59 (1789), 1027. Benjamin Hoadly was an Anglican bishop who had advocated religious and political liberty. Francis Blackburne was an associate of Theophilus Lindsey. See Stephen Taylor, 'Hoadly, Benjamin (1676–1761)' and B. W. Young, 'Blackburne, Francis (1705–1787)', *ODNB*. 'Ne quid nimis' is an adage from Terence meaning 'nothing in excess'; 'Vindicatio Schismatica' roughly translates as 'A vindication of schismatics'. Earlier, Horace Walpole had described the *Biographia Britannica* as '*Vindicatio Britannica*, or a defence

While Kippis would probably not have seen possessing 'liberality of sentiment' as a criticism, the nature of the defence of the *Biographia Britannica* in the *New Annual Register* and Kippis's not wholly favourable assessment of Doddridge speak to the criticism articulated by 'An Old Correspondent' that Kippis granted unquestioning praise to dissenters and heterodox Anglicans. The 'Old Correspondent' himself certainly thought that Kippis had taken heed of the comments: in 1794 he flattered himself that his 'animadversions . . . may have induced the editor to have been "somewhat more moderate in his late publication"'.[103]

The *New Annual Register* capitalised on a gap in the periodical market caused by the ever increasing delays in the publication of the *Annual Register* (1758-), a work with similar aims and purposes edited initially by Edmund Burke, which offered a rather more conservative picture of British literature and politics than the *New Annual Register*. Problems with editors and publishers meant that the official volume of the *Annual Register* for 1792 was not published until 1798, and the one for 1793 only appeared in 1806.[104] Amid confusion over competing versions of the *Annual Register*, the *New Annual Register* could claim to be reliably representing contemporary cultural life. The regular appearance, varied content and diversity of works recognised in the *New Annual Register* and the vast scale of national monument that the *Biographia Britannica* provided complementary associations and practical advantages, which Kippis manipulated by encouraging frequent references to the *Biographia Britannica* in the *New Annual Register*. These two publications could be conceived as twin engines of an effort masterminded by Kippis to incorporate dissenting voices and narratives into national culture. Of course, Kippis's practice of diffusing information about and from one work using another is how review journals and before them abstract journals had always worked, and newspapers conventionally advertised the books of their own publishers; but this feature of print culture tends to be explained in commercial terms only, while Kippis probably did not benefit

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of every body', in *A Catalogue of the Noble and Royal Authors of Great Britain*, 2 vols. (London, 1758), II, 64. Cited in *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, III, 175.

[103] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 64 (1794), 103.

[104] A competing 'illegitimate' edition of the *Annual Register* for 1792, published by W. Otridge, was printed in 1793. See William B. Todd, 'A Bibliographical Account of *The Annual Register*, 1758-1825', *The Library*, 5th ser., 16 (1961), 104-20 (108-9).

financially from the interrelations he created between *The Family Expositor*, the *Biographia Britannica* and the *New Annual Register*. His efforts may be seen as an imaginative use of the overlapping spheres of these different publications with the intention of integrating features of his own religious culture into an idea of national life. His cultural and psychological strategy went alongside his political lobbying in favour of abolishing the legal disabilities dissenters endured.[105]

Kippis's use of established publishing formats such as the folio national biographical dictionary, and his influence over periodical ventures such as the *New Annual Register* made these into important conduits for the dissemination of dissenting culture and information about its recent history.[106] Towards the end of the eighteenth century, another vehicle for memorial in print was developing: the denominational magazine. The evangelical *Gospel Magazine* (where Toplady's life of Watts first appeared) was among the earliest of these, and by the end of the eighteenth century there were dozens, representing the spectrum of religious opinion.[107] Some magazines were written for particular denominations, while others such as the *Evangelical Magazine* (1793-1864) and the *Protestant Dissenter's Magazine* (1794-99) sought to cross sectarian boundaries while maintaining a clearly defined character.[108] These magazines all contained theological and philosophical discourses, book reviews, accounts of missionary activities, descriptions of meetings, lively correspondence exchanges, and information about newly uncovered manuscripts such as the extracts from Doddridge's 'Lectures on Preaching' in the *Universal Theological Magazine*. The *Universal Theological Magazine* (originally entitled the *Universalist's Miscellany*) and its successor the *Monthly Repository* were denominational journals associated with rational dissent. The proliferation of these magazines occurred as Kippis was working on the *Biographia Britannica* and *New Annual Register*, and they were an alternative means by which dissenters' culture was represented in print.

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[105] See Ruston, 'Kippis' and Thomas W. Davis, 'Introduction', to *Committees for Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts*, x.

[106] Kippis miscalculated the scale of the project: in six volumes, and after twenty-seven years' work, he only reached the letter 'F': see Rivers, 'Biographical Dictionaries', 156.

[107] Mineka, *The Dissidence of Dissent*, 27-97; Josef L. Altholz, *The Religious Press in Britain 1760 – 1900* (New York, 1989), 57-78.

[108] The range of religious opinion represented by the array of these magazines is surveyed by Stephen Burley, ' "In this Intolerance I Glory": William Hazlitt (1737-1820) and the Dissenting Periodical', *The Hazlitt Review*, 3 (2010), 9-23 (11-12).

4. Biography in denominational magazines

Unlike the *New Annual Register*, the *Protestant Dissenter's Magazine* explicitly dissociated itself from political activity. It declared in its first preface that:

> To prevent any wrong construction of our design, in this undertaking, it is proper to inform the public, that it is not the work of the Dissenters as a Body, and that the individuals engaged in executing the plan, which was formed some years ago, never had the most distant intention to interfere in any political contests; much less to introduce any thing that might tend to inflame the minds of readers against any measures of government; but that, on the contrary, it was our wish, as loyal subjects of the KING, and true friends to our country, and the present constitution, to contribute our part towards promoting peace and good order.[109]

The defensive opening sentence anticipates criticism, for in the 1790s dissenters were objects of suspicion, potential supporters of revolution and republic. To counter this, the preface to the first volume of the *Protestant Dissenter's Magazine* stresses that the plan was drawn up 'some years ago' and is therefore not designed as a contribution to current debates. The preface sets out the publication's position as a politically peaceable organ hoping to prove the loyalty of dissent to outside observers:

> We hope for the pleasure of shewing our fellow-subjects, that the Protestant Dissenters will yield to none in their obedience to the laws, their attachment to the civil constitution, and their concern to promote peace and harmony among all descriptions of men.[110]

It also invited debate with voices from outside dissent:

> Though we shall think it right to vindicate ourselves against any unjust censures, we shall be equally ready to admit sober and candid animadversions on whatever may appear exceptionable, in dissenters, or any thing that may tend to correct or improve them in respect to doctrine, worship, discipline, or general conduct.[111]

[109] *Protestant Dissenter's Magazine*, 1 (1794), sig. A2v.
[110] *Protestant Dissenter's Magazine*, 1 (1794), sig. A2v.
[111] *Protestant Dissenter's Magazine*, 1 (1794), sig. A2v.

This proposal is consistent with the dissenting tenet of freedom of thought, and in this invitation to debate, the magazine may be suggesting the particular qualities a dissenting periodical can bring to critical discourse.

Despite the ecumenical spirit expressed by its title, which does not limit the work to one denomination, the preface was clear about the limits to the scope of the magazine. It invited contributions that met the interests of 'the body of dissenters throughout the kingdom' and defended the magazine's title as appropriate to a denominational magazine:

> To those who dislike the TITLE, as favouring too much of a party-spirit, it is answered, that if the work itself be thought expedient and useful, which is professedly adapted to one particular description of readers, there can be no impropriety in the title's corresponding with it: especially as this is likely to secure the attention of those for whom it is intended.[112]

The address to the nation in the opening preface is a defensive move, for it explains the purpose of the magazine as an internal cultural record for the dissenting community and only addresses readers of the established church to reassure them there is no revolutionary intent behind the publication. The content of the magazine over its six-year run reflects this priority. As the title page announces, it comprised: 'biographical memoirs; ecclesiastical history; sacred criticism; doctrinal and practical divinity; a review of theological publications; devotional poetry; miscellaneous essays and articles of intelligence': within the magazine itself this latter category was confined to 'religious intelligence' concerning ordinations and funerals of ministers.

An important feature of denominational magazines was the biographical sketch (usually of a minister) which appeared in each issue and tended to open the magazine. The popularity of these accounts can be adduced from the fact that when the *Universalist's Miscellany* became the *Universal Theological Magazine* in 1802, it dramatically altered the style and content of the magazine, abandoning abstruse and extended debates about doctrine and hermeneutics, and adopting instead a format reminiscent of the *Protestant Dissenter's Magazine*. One way in which the magazine was made more inviting was by replacing abstract concepts

[112] *Protestant Dissenter's Magazine*, 1 (1794), sig. A3v.

with human voices. As well as livelier correspondence and reports on descriptions of manuscripts, biographical sketches were introduced:

> Biography, on account of the instruction it communicates, and the entertainment it imparts, has always proved interesting to mankind. The introduction of such an article into our Miscellany, therefore, cannot fail of gratifying the generality of our readers.[113]

Like the *Protestant Dissenter's Magazine*, it thereafter opened each issue with a biography, often accompanied with an engraved portrait. The first subject was Robert Robinson, the Baptist minister who had become a follower of Whitefield's Calvinist Methodism before turning away from Whitefield and, it was claimed by Joseph Priestley and others, dying a Unitarian.[114] The biographical sketch supported Priestley's characterisation of Robinson, and presented Robinson as the embodiment of the beliefs maintained by the *Universal Theological Magazine*, namely 'THE RIGHT OF PRIVATE JUDGMENT IN THE AFFAIRS OF RELIGION'.[115] '*The imposition of a creed* has ever been a source of unspeakable vexation to the conscientious part of the community' the biography continues, placing readers of this magazine within 'the conscientious part of the community'. The magazine used its new format to declare its position on the debate about freedom of conscience in general and on Robert Robinson's Unitarianism in particular using the newly-introduced form of biography.

Allowing space for reader contributions facilitated one of the cultural purposes of these magazines: to record, transmit and debate materials from dissent's recent past so that readers could see the continuities and changes from the seventeenth and earlier eighteenth centuries to their own time. Examples include John Evans writing to the *Monthly Repository* to announce that he had located a shorthand copy of Doddridge's theological lectures, letters written by Doddridge being reprinted which establish his doctrinal position or reveal, in the words of the magazine, 'a curious specimen of the religious taste of a former age', and an account of a dream Doddridge had following a conversation with

[113] *Universal Theological Magazine*, 6 (1802), 1.
[114] Robinson's family and congregation did not accept that he was a Unitarian: see John Stephens, 'Robinson, Robert (1735–1790)', *ODNB*.
[115] *Universal Theological Magazine*, 6 (1802), 6.

Samuel Clark 'upon the nature of a separate state, and the probability that the scenes on which the soul would enter, at its first leaving the body, would have some resemblance to those things it had been conversant with while on earth'.[116] The cumulative effect of publishing these items was to make the memory of Doddridge available to late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century readers of these magazines, and to build up the body of materials representative of that memory.

Because of their specialist interest, denominational magazines could record the lives of less prominent figures in the history of dissent. In these narratives the connections between dissenters is highlighted and the sense of a community is always emphasised. The *Monthly Repository* biography of Samuel Clark junior (Doddridge's friend and former student, editor of *A Course of Lectures* and son of Doddridge's mentor) demonstrates two important aspects of magazine biographies: they could present the lives of people who would not be given an entry in a national biographical dictionary, and could include responses to items featured and thereby create a multi-voiced discourse. The biography of Clark exhibits many of the tendencies of dissenting biography which have been identified throughout this chapter, such as attention to a subject's community and the nature of his intellectual pursuits, a list of his printed works, the use of the words of others (in this case, Caleb Ashworth's funeral sermon and Job Orton's *Letters to Dissenting Ministers*). It incorporates a variety of perspectives, particularly those of the subject's close acquaintances, into a biographical narrative. This particular biography generated a series of responses from correspondents which appeared in the magazine over the following months. The starting point was a defence of Clark's orthodoxy:

> For what purpose was this frightful name, Arian, applied to Mr. Clark, but to fix a stigma upon his character, and upon that of his worthy colleague [Ashworth]? So, other excellent and candid men have been stigmatized by bigots, among whom may be mentioned the amiable Dr. Watts.[117]

[116] *Monthly Repository*, 13 (1818), 37-8. See also *Monthly Repository*, 1 (1806), 341-44 (a letter from Doddridge to Samuel Bourn dated 12 December 1741 in which Doddridge denies he is an Arian) and 568 (a letter from Doddridge to William Glover dated 14 September 1742 concerning the text for a funeral sermon on Song of Songs 2:14); *Protestant Dissenter's Magazine*, 6 (1799), 424.
[117] *Monthly Repository*, 2 (1807), 68.

The question of the Trinitarian orthodoxy of influential dissenters of the previous century was still being anxiously interrogated in the nineteenth century. A later correspondent responds to the introduction of Watts to the debate by noting Toplady's imputation of Watts's changed mind to mental disturbance:

> That Dr. Watts had also been "stigmatized by bigots," is justly remarked by your correspondent. Yet bigotry is chargeable not so much with unfairly imputing to him great deviations from his juvenile orthodoxy as with attributing such deviations to mental debility, arising from age and nervous derangement. I well remember what ridiculous stories on this subject were given to the religious world about 30 years ago, I believe, through the medium of the "Gospel Magazine," which was the *Evangelical* organ of that day. These stories were chiefly attributed to Toplady, a scholar and divine, whose talents might have been better employed.[118]

This correspondent corrects mistakes in the previous correspondent's account by rooting his conclusions about Watts in the printed biographies of him, and attempts to reverse the negative effects of earlier periodical biographical accounts by privileging Gibbons's conclusions over Toplady's far-fetched speculations. Though he credits Gibbons's account because of his status as Watts's friend, and his 'high integrity', the correspondent calls for further analysis in biographical writing: 'I wish they had proceeded further and given us from personal knowledge, and an examination of the writings of Watts, an account of the variations in his theological creed.'[119] In order to address the question of Clark's orthodoxy, he takes issue with the earlier correspondent giving Doddridge's approbation as evidence. The correspondent also invites speculation as to Doddridge's own position.

The biography of Clark and the correspondence it triggered show that printing biographical sketches (including letters and accounts of the dreams of dead dissenters) and publishing responses from and epistolary debates among correspondents collectively generated a way of thinking about biography and memory which could be different to that of the fixed accounts that appeared in individual book-length biographies or biographical dictionaries which were not open to change. The cumulative and communal gathering of material possible in

[118] *Monthly Repository*, 2 (1807), 355.
[119] *Monthly Repository*, 2 (1807), 355.

a magazine allowed the representation of a particular figure to be modified over time, while intellectual and social connections between individuals could be explored. In this forum, the lives of the dead could be used to conduct current intellectual battles, making these men vivid figureheads for contemporary debate as well as being objects of veneration and models for behaviour.

5. Collections of lives

Debate about Watts's orthodoxy continued to be conducted across magazine articles and pamphlets into the nineteenth century, and rational dissenters were particularly active in these exchanges.[120] However, he was also an important figure among different groups of evangelical dissenters and Anglicans, and there was less controversy associated with his role in this context. Particularly as a hymnodist, but also as a writer of practical divinity, he was celebrated by those with religious opinions just as far from those of such guardians of his memory as the orthodox Samuel Palmer as those of rational dissenters and Unitarians.

Watts was regularly included in collections of lives published as books by evangelicals in the second half of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century. Notable dissenters appeared in various collections, including Richard Burnham's *Pious Memorials* (1753) and *Biographia Evangelica* (1779-86), complied by the evangelical Anglican Erasmus Middleton.[121] These collections tend to present uncontroversial versions of lives. They conceive the relationship between text, author, subject and audience differently from the periodicals, which invite revision and debate, but also differently from the folio dictionaries which sought to be comprehensive. These themed repositories for biography

[120] Letters from Samuel Palmer on the term 'Socinian' and from correspondent 'N' giving a detailed response to Palmer's defence of Watts against Lardner and Belsham were printed: see *Monthly Repository*, 8 (1813), 714-23 and Samuel Palmer, *Dr. Watts No Socinian* (London, 1813).

[121] Erasmus Middleton, *Biographia Evangelica: or, an Historical Account of the Lives and Deaths Of the Most Eminent and Evangelical Authors or Preachers*, 4 vols. (London, 1779-86); Richard Burnham, *Pious Memorials or, the Power of Religion upon the Mind in Sickness and at Death* (London, 1753). This work was revised, enlarged and published in different countries. It was reprinted with a continuation by George Burder in 1820. See J. H. Thorpe, 'Burnham, Richard (1709–1752)', rev. Adam Jacob Levin, *ODNB*. Burnham was a Congregationalist, as was George Burder, who was editor of the *Evangelical Magazine* from 1803 to 1826 and edited *The Works of Isaac Watts*, 6 vols. (1810-11). See A. F. Munden, 'Burder, George (1752–1832)', *ODNB*. See also Isabel Rivers, 'John Wesley and Religious Biography', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 85 (2003), 209-26.

challenged the reach and dominance of the folio biographical dictionaries, partly because they were more affordable (volume I of *Biographia Evangelica* cost six shillings, volume I of *Biographia Britannica* a guinea) and partly because their thematic nature allowed readers to select a category of lives (of artists, of scholars, of actors, of divines) which interested them.[122] Denominational divisions were less rigidly observed in collections of pious lives than in the periodical press, and nonconformists and members of the established church appear together though, in the case of *Biographia Evangelica*, nonconformists are confined to the final volume.

Counter to this trend, Samuel Palmer abridged, revised and combined Edmund Calamy's *Abridgement*, *Continuation* and *Account* into the two-volume *Nonconformist's Memorial*. This was intended as a convenient modern edition of Calamy's disparate works and had the purpose of renewing the memory of 1662 for dissenters alive more than a century later.[123] The publication of this work at a time when collections which encompassed the lives of remarkable Protestants of all denominations were popular suggests that Palmer's endeavour was a protective move, aimed at preserving the culture of dissent. This anticipates his reclamation of Isaac Watts from the *Lives of the Poets* a few years later. The tone of Palmer's preface is highly defensive. Palmer articulates historical denigrations of his ancestors as rude and unlearned, in order to counters them by quoting remarks in praise of nonconformists' intellectual zeal from Gilbert Burnet and John Locke. Turning to more recent criticisms, Palmer launches a strident counter-attack on the 'illiberal and unjust reflections' made by an Anglican clergyman in a guide to the work of justices of the peace.[124] Asserting the historical importance of the record of ejected ministers at the same time as attacking a recent publication introduces destabilising doubt as to whether Palmer is assured (as he claims) that his work will be a lasting monument that stands outside contemporary controversies.

Palmer's preface defends Calamy's work by highlighting his scholarly methods for amassing information and responding to criticism of Calamy. By

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[122] The price of *Biographia Evangelica* is taken from the *Monthly Review*, 62 (1780), 250-1; the price of *Biographia Britannica* from newspaper advertisements; see *General Advertiser and Morning Intelligencer* for Tuesday 13 April 1779.
[123] See Seed, *Dissenting Histories*, 133-7.
[124] George Burn, *The Justice of the Peace and the Parish Office*, 2 vols. (London, 1755).

presenting the new work via a series of responses to critics of an earlier publication, Palmer creates a backward-looking and defensive frame for the text. In content, too, the *Nonconformist's Memorial* is retrograde. It follows a seventeenth-century pattern for the compilation of biographical information, and unlike newer, cross-denomination collections, it does not dramatize the lives it contains, give details about the events of the lives or emphasise moments of piety. Palmer's goal of preserving a unified orthodox dissenting culture may account for his defensive and rather narrow approach to memorial. The work, which listed over one thousand subscribers and was reprinted several times, was popular among dissenters and did not need to seek a readership beyond those who felt a cultural and familial connection to the ministers who had lost their livings in 1662. Despite being published in an age of doctrinal and denominational diversity, the *Nonconformist's Memorial* was a work grounded in the past, and therefore Palmer had no interest in addressing the broader readership sought by newer biographical compilations.

In contrast to Palmer's tone and editorial method in the *Nonconformist's Memorial*, other collections incorporate materials from earlier printed biographies but adapt and add to them, and use articles on dissenters to call for increased communication between different groups. Middleton's account of Doddridge in the *Biographia Evangelica* takes Orton (whose biography is described as 'excellent') as its source, for example, but does not always echo Orton's priorities or purposes. Instead of using Doddridge as a model of private Christianity, Middleton shapes a figure whose public actions offer instructive lessons. The events of Doddridge's life are described in under two pages, but even within this swift survey Middleton finds an opportunity to use Doddridge's voyage to Lisbon to make two points about inter-denominational relations:

> It was very much to the honour of a minister of the established church, that the Doctor was enabled to make this voyage in point of expence: And it would be very much to the comfort as well as credit both of churchmen and dissenters, if they entertained the same catholic regard which the Doctor had to good men of all persuasions.[125]

[125] Middleton, *Biographia Evangelica*, IV, 283.

Much of the article is devoted to describing Doddridge's teaching (with many details of the academy curriculum and information about the library) and writings. It details the publishing history of various works, including problems of translating *The Family Expositor* into German.[126] Middleton supplements Orton's assessments with remarks of his own which emphasise that Doddridge's writings have achieved an even greater geographical reach than Orton suggested:

> It has been already observed, that his works have been much read and esteemed in these kingdoms, and the colonies; I would add, that the most considerable of them have been translated into foreign languages, and published abroad.[127]

A further supplement to Orton's biography is the description of Doddridge's editorial activities and introductions to other works. Middleton notes Doddridge's biographical preface to the sermons of Thomas Steffe, the edition of Brainerd's *Journal* which he introduced, his introduction to David Some's sermon on inoculation, and his edition of Robert Leighton's posthumous works.[128] The inclusion of this material pre-empts Kippis's attention to Doddridge's publishing career in his biography. Middleton's life of Doddridge focuses less on the exemplarity of his behaviour than Orton's and, by detailing his publications and suggesting their usefulness, invites readers to follow Doddridge's intellectual processes, and to gain models for pious living by reading his works as well as taking edification from his life.

Middleton's collection of pious lives seeks to be comprehensive, and surveying all the available printed sources for a biography, as he does in his life of Watts, is one element of this. Middleton also informs readers of his views on the correct method for biographical composition in the introduction to his article on Watts, which is based on Johnson, and supplemented by elements from Toplady, Gibbons and Jennings. He claims to have adopted a historical method by imagining what the subject would want said of him. He notes the dangers of

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[126] Middleton, *Biographia Evangelica*, IV, 292. This is also mentioned by Kippis in his summary of translations of Doddridge's works: see *Biographia Britannica*, V, 302.
[127] Middleton, *Biographia Evangelica*, IV, 293.
[128] *An Abridgment of Mr. David Brainerd's Journal among the Indians*, ed. Philip Doddridge (London, 1748) and David Some, *The Case of Receiving the Small-Pox by Inoculation, Impartially Considered, and Especially in a Religious View* (London, 1750). The work was written in 1725.

hagiography, observing that excessive praise is particularly unsuitable in religious biography:

> as we must abhor a mean and invidious detraction, which could only prove that we want either grace or common candour; we would be careful also to avoid the other extreme, from a mind equally devoted to temporal views, of sliding into fulsome or swelling panegyrics, through any respect that should be entertained for the memories of faithful men.[129]

Middleton presents his role as steering a course between these two extremes by judiciously selecting from existing biographical accounts and acting as a mediator between biographers and readers. It is similar to the role Badcock identified for himself as a reviewer, though Middleton occupies it with less frenzied critical purpose than Badcock.

Richard Burnham's *Pious Memorials* have a different priority. As the title explains, his accounts explicitly foreground the deathbed scenes of the many pious men and six women in the biographical sketches he offers.[130] Burnham's 'Life of Watts' lavishly eulogises Watts's final moments: 'Thus died, one of the greatest and best of men; for the accomplishments of his mind, the purity of his heart, and the excellency of his life!'[131] Burnham's approach to the problem of Watts's orthodoxy is to positively emphasise his reliance on Jesus:

> In his last sickness the active and sprightly powers of his nature failed him, that is, they were gradually doing so for two or three years before his decease; yet his trust in God, through Jesus the Mediator, remained unshaken to the last.[132]

Several of Watts's poems are included by Burnham, who reinforces his depiction of Watts's state of mind with Watts's own words. Watts's is the last life in the first edition of the work. The second edition follows the article on Watts with one on Burnham himself, who recites Watts's hymns on his deathbed. By following a

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[129] Middleton, *Biographia Evangelica*, IV, 264-5.
[130] The full title of Burnham's work gives a clear summary of its content and expresses the emphasis the work places on dying: *Pious Memorials or, the Power of Religion upon the Mind in Sickness and at Death: Exemplified in the Experience of Many Divines and Other Eminent Persons at those Important Seasons. Interspersed with what was most Remarkable in their Lives.*
[131] Burnham, *Pious Memorials* (1820), 276.
[132] Burnham, *Pious Memorials* (1820), 275.

description of Watts's death with the example of the writer of that text taking comfort in the poems of his final subject, the updated version of *Pious Memorials* enacts a literal connection between the works and deaths of pious men within the text.

The life of Doddridge (present from the second edition onwards) emphasises the comfort that reading Watts brought Doddridge in *his* final days. Doddridge reads Watts's funeral sermons for John Hartopp, *Death and Heaven* (1722). The biographical detail offers a very literal expression of the capacity of the printed text to give voice to those who are gone and to provide a channel of communication between separated friends. Watts and Doddridge both attached great importance to friendship, and the act of reading the words of one's deceased friend in order to develop fortitude in the face of death represents an exemplary nexus of text, religion and friendship. This collection of lives uses the capacity of the genre to highlight personal and textual connections between its exemplary subjects to celebrate community in the very moment of dying.

6. Dissenters' lives in a national community

The range of biographical forms examined here highlights the enduring importance of the idea of community for dissenters' identity, but also the increasing difficulty of defining that community. For dissenters, biography could celebrate and defend exemplary subjects, and this perpetual shifting between pride and anxiety characterises many biographical accounts of Watts and Doddridge. Although the two men were defined in print in terms of their public actions (particularly as influential authors), their nonconformist heritage and position as figureheads for dissent were privileged in accounts of their lives. Works which collected remains of single authors (correspondence, diaries and so on) were produced as an attempt to give a definitive, approved version of a life, but these were modified, abridged, transposed to new contexts and contested in periodicals. Interpretations of events and the value of biographical and textual materials were increasingly debated in print.

By the end of the eighteenth century, dissenters had in common the political disabilities they faced but little else. Controversies conducted in print indicate an absence of fellow feeling among religious writers despite intermittent

efforts to present dissent as a united movement. Denominational magazines, which addressed ever more restricted readerships, proliferated and few religious magazines addressed a broad spectrum of readers. Dissenters could not be imagined as a cohesive community, despite the efforts of the *Protestant Dissenter's Magazine* to encourage cross-denominational fellowship; the magazine had a small circulation and folded after only six years. The unity across dissenting denominations that Watts hoped to promote, and which he sought to demonstrate by asking representatives from three denominations to lead his funeral procession, was a distant prospect at the turn of the nineteenth century.

While dissent fragmented it was Watts and Doddridge, two dissenters who stressed the importance of harmony, who repeatedly appeared in national biographical dictionaries and in biographical compendia of different kinds. Their presence in such publications, along with reviews of biographies of them which appeared in national periodicals, affirmed their status as nationally significant dissenters. Later in the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century, biographical compendia produced by Anglicans became an increasingly significant channel for the diffusion of knowledge about Watts and Doddridge. The two men were included in such works because of their importance in their own lifetimes, and also partly thanks to the efforts of their immediate successors to establish their reputations. Their appearance in these compendia also contributed to their continued renown. Johnson's biography of Watts, and particularly his praise for *The Improvement of the Mind*, certainly contributed to awareness of dissenting writing, for example, and Middleton's accounts of both Watts and Doddridge presented versions of their lives which emphasised their cross-denominational appeal for evangelical Anglicans. Biographical writings consolidated the reputations of Watts and Doddridge which had originated in and were perpetuated by the popularity and continued use of many of their printed works.

Some dissenters who identified themselves as belonging to the same tradition as Watts and Doddridge viewed the attention the two men received from the wider world with suspicion. Samuel Palmer was one of these men, and he sought to preserve the collective identity of orthodox dissent by promoting the works associated with it, such as Calamy's *Account* and Doddridge's *Family*

Expositor. Palmer also activated the spirit of Watts by publishing *The Protestant Dissenter's Catechism* (1772) which aimed to inculcate awareness of history in young children by following the question-and-answer format that Watts had favoured. Motivated by a sense of the importance of the past, Palmer was an editor and polemicist whose diverse projects activated the potential of different printed forms to disseminate ideas about and texts from minority religious communities.

Alongside such editorial activities, printed biographies allowed dissenters to represent their own heritage while seeking to demonstrate their place in national life. This was most effectively done, thought Orton, Gibbons, Kippis and (to an extent) Palmer by emphasising the devout and thoughtful models of behaviour that biographies of exemplary dissenters could provide for a national godly community. To that end, these men emphasised the piety and moderation of Watts and Doddridge, and their importance as educators.

Conclusion

Dissenting culture after Watts and Doddridge

> Had Providence cast my lot nearer you, I should gratefully embrace frequent opportunities of improving my understanding, and warming my heart by your conversation, which would surely be to my great advantage as a Tutor, as a minister, and as a Christian.[1]

In closing his long letter to Watts with which this thesis began, Doddridge pays tribute to the model of reason and affection to be found in Watts's conversation. This carefully expressed acknowledgement of the beneficial effects of informal interaction with a learned mentor echoes Doddridge's praise of his tutor, John Jennings. Doddridge repeatedly associated constructive intellectual and emotional activity with the men he regarded most highly and, following their example, he considered improving the minds and warming the hearts of others the key responsibility that united his three roles as 'a Tutor . . . a minister . . . a Christian'. His own example became an important one, and the dissenting culture that this thesis has explored was profoundly shaped by the ways Watts and Doddridge conducted their discourse. The variety of the textual manifestations of Watts's and Doddridge's projects to encourage others as Christians, as ministers and as tutors has been demonstrated here by a detailed study of manuscript and printed materials. In particular, the educational dimension (broadly understood) of their activities has been shown to have affected how dissent was perceived during their lifetimes and afterwards, within their own community and beyond it.

The thesis began with an exploration of Doddridge's role as the pre-eminent dissenting tutor of the mid-eighteenth century. The account of his ideas about education and their implementation provided in Chapter one used archival sources to demonstrate that his educational practices were closely modelled on those of his own tutor, Jennings, but that he modified these over time and was guided initially by Watts and others. Doddridge's influence was long lasting, and his materials were successively modified by later tutors. This practice of exchange and adaptation was a significant dimension of dissenting educational culture. Doddridge's educational principles reached diverse centres of learning

[1] Philip Doddridge to Isaac Watts, 5 April [or May]1731. Humphreys, III, 75; *Cal*. 357.

through different channels, including letters he wrote to other educators and published accounts of academy education.

Alongside the circulation of academy materials in manuscript, Doddridge's lectures were printed. The problems associated with the transition from manuscript to print were the subject of anxious discussion among Doddridge's associates, as Chapter two showed. Both in private correspondence and in print, the public utility of his lectures was debated and the form in which they should be presented to the public was questioned. Religious perspectives and attitudes to publication intersected in complicated ways because dissenters were divided over how to represent Doddridge's exemplarity. Conflicting editorial priorities and printed expressions of dissatisfaction at different manifestations of Doddridge's lectures did not stop editions of the theological lectures or the lectures on preaching from being reprinted, however. Their continued republication sustained Doddridge's influence on ministerial training into the nineteenth century in religious and educational environments very different from the original contexts for the teaching materials. His work was known in American colleges, English universities and among educators in continental Europe.

The second chapter also described the collective process of completing Doddridge's major work, *The Family Expositor*. This work was very important in making Doddridge known to readers beyond his local and dissenting milieux, and it remained well known and was regularly republished for a century after his death. Mercy Doddridge's correspondence reveals that she took a close interest in the editing and publishing procedure, which was carried out by a group of Doddridge's associates. The role of an author's widow and associates in completing his work and publishing it according to his wishes has rarely been reconstructed in such detail, for few records comparable to Mercy Doddridge's correspondence have been discovered or studied as yet. The letters are full of information about book publishing, which allows a fuller understanding of how religious books (one of the most important and profitable categories in the period) were produced. The letters also offers glimpses of human drama, for Mercy Doddridge's correspondents question each others' advice, express distrust of booksellers and complain about the activities of their friends. The publications which helped establish Doddridge's high reputation took shape gradually, and as

a result of these personal interactions. Crucially, though, little of this process was ever articulated in printed sources. Both the text itself and the public account of the process of publishing the work carefully presented *The Family Expositor* as Doddridge's alone because it was the work on which he wished his reputation to rest.

The capacity of printed works to shape and disseminate dissenters' reputations was explored further in Chapter three, where the posthumous publication of Watts's *Works* was shown, like that of *The Family Expositor* for Doddridge, to have initiated debate among dissenters of Watts's circle about how best to present him to the wider world. Watts himself had used his unusual status as an extremely well known dissenting author to promote the works of other writers; however, the diversity of his activities was only partially represented by his collected *Works*. The third chapter also returned to the topics and forms of educational writing, showing that Watts's writings in this genre circulated among numerous categories of readers and that his ideas about the value of practical approaches to learning reached new environments. Alongside the amazing popularity of his hymns and the repeated republication of his poetry and sermons (all much discussed elsewhere), these somewhat overlooked elements of Watts's oeuvre are shown to have been important contributions to the intellectual culture of the later eighteenth century. This was both because they were frequently reprinted and because the ideas and examples Watts advanced in them were transmitted in other works, particularly Johnson's *Dictionary*. This view of Watts's educational influence modifies existing interpretations of the popularisation of Locke's ideas and of children's literature, for it allows the importance of the connection between religious and pedagogic ideas to be emphasised.

Watts and Doddridge were leaders within dissent in their own lifetimes partly because they encouraged open, courteous communication between different groups. As the letters of Job Orton relating to the publication of Doddridge's works and those of Nathaniel Neal concerning Watts show, however, it proved difficult to fashion straightforward versions of Watts and Doddridge immediately after their deaths. The problems of honestly and usefully representing their exemplarity without leaving their conduct open to criticism from hostile commentators intensified in later decades and preoccupied a new

generation of dissenters, as Chapter four showed. It was no longer possible to imagine dissent as a unified movement in this period, for the cultural climate in England was different to that which Watts and Doddridge had known in the mid-eighteenth century. The landscape of print had changed too. Individual life-narratives and folio biographical dictionaries were joined by new kinds of publication such as biographical compendia and religious magazines. Watts's and Doddridge's lives and works were given contemporary relevance by being discussed in these publications. But their life-stories could be taken up by writers who did not necessarily share their religious culture, and this worried protectors of orthodox dissent such as Thomas Gibbons, Job Orton and Samuel Palmer.

It is in their capacity as editors that many of the lesser known figures in this thesis appear. The complexity of their tasks emerges from correspondence rather than the printed texts, and it by returning to these manuscript sources that a fuller picture of dissenting cultural mediations has emerged. Job Orton, Samuel Clark, Andrew Kippis, Samuel Palmer and Edward Williams are relatively unknown today, but their activities – their painstaking editing, their negotiations with booksellers, their sometimes controversial modifications of texts, their squabbles with each other and their declarations of fellow-feeling – created works which were important in their own time and after. The work of these men gives a human voice to the explosion in print which characterised the eighteenth century.[2] Dissenters' publications were inspired by their history: biographies, new versions of important works such as Doddridge's *Family Expositor* and periodicals which amassed and discussed the remains of significant figures all used the materials of the past to keep a tradition alive. These publications maintained dissenters' works as valuable resources and kept the ideas of dissent publicly circulating.

It must be emphasised, though, that dissenters were not entirely unique in their publishing practices. The entire scene of religious publishing in the eighteenth century was a vigorous one, as religious groups sought to educate, inspire and promote piety. The activities described here should be understood in this vibrant context. What is remarkable about the publications surveyed in this thesis is that in each case that work was directed by a clear sense of what Watts

[2] See Suarez's chart of total imprints 1701-93, in *CHBB*, V, 43.

and Doddridge should represent, and why this was important for the reading public. But while friends, editors and commentators all agreed that Watts and Doddridge were significant, their lives and works came to be presented in a variety of ways as dissenters continually responded to the complicated exemplarity of the two men. In the absence of a single leader to control the discourse, the diversity of opinions and preoccupations among dissenters claiming to continue the tradition of Watts and Doddridge could be extensively articulated in print.

Shared endeavours among dissenters reached a large public, from editions of particular works and monumental collected *Works* to short reviews in monthly journals. Dissenters have tended to be ignored by book historians because as a group they were numerically insignificant, but their participation in the world of print gave them greater prominence in the Republic of Letters than their numbers would suggest. By actively embracing the expressive and representational potential of emerging print forms such as religious magazines and printed letter collections, dissenters figured their social realm publicly in new ways. Samuel Palmer's edition of two volumes of Job Orton's correspondence, *Letters to Dissenting Ministers and to Students for the Ministry* (1806), is one instance of this. It seems likely that it was produced in response to the expanded edition of Thomas Stedman's *Letters to a Young Clergyman*, which contained one volume of letters to Stedman from James Stonhouse, and another from Job Orton. The cumulative effect of the letters Stedman published was that the mutually supportive relations between members of the established church and dissenters were made visible. The influence of dissent on Anglicanism was contained in the figure of Orton, whose suggested reading and advice regarding pastoral care were taken up by the young curate. Palmer's decision to offer the reading public another collection of letters specifically located among dissenters declared that dissent had its own epistolary networks and its own exchanges of knowledge. His protective activities were in tension with Watts's and Doddridge's earlier efforts to address a comprehensive public that was not denominationally bounded, but the prevailing values were the same. Throughout dissenters' writings, personal associations are privileged and religious and intellectual activity are paired in order to demonstrate and encourage pious and well informed conduct.

This thesis has sought to show that investigating how texts are made and how they circulate can be a fruitful way of interpreting them, and that the meaning of particular printed texts can be better understood by looking at the relations between individuals. This view has been informed by dissenters' letters, which highlight the personal connections through which publishing projects were effected. The diversity of written representations of dissenting culture, and the ways in which they were framed, have not been considered in these relational terms before. A detailed picture of 'the conditions of publication' (in Richard B. Sher's phrase) has been presented by conducting a careful study of a range of archival sources, many of which have not been used before, by re-reading printed texts that have previously been treated cursorily, and by reading these sources alongside each other. The nature of these conditions of publication is revealed to have been variously (and often simultaneously) religious, commercial, domestic, denominational, political, educational, harmonious, contested, long-drawn-out and, above all else, collective.

Appendix I

Dissenting academy manuscript materials

This appendix lists all the manuscripts associated with dissenting academy teaching which are cited in this thesis.

Theological lectures

CHCN Blackmore MSS, Thomas Blackmore's lecture notes (1761-62)
CHCN Watson MSS, Thomas Watson's lecture notes (1746-47)
Congregational Library MSS I.g.7-11, theology lectures in shorthand (n.d.)
DWL MSS 28.35-43, Samuel Henley's lecture notes in shorthand (1759-61)
DWL MS 28.117, part of John Jennings's theology lectures (n.d.)
DWL NCL MSS L.28/1-2, John Conder's theology lectures (1775-78)
DWL NCL MSS L.29/6-10, theology lectures in shorthand (n.d.)
DWL NCL MS L.29/11, John Conder's copy of Philip Doddridge's lectures (n.d.)
DWL NCL MSS L.29/12-16, theology lectures in shorthand (n.d.)
HMCO MS Belsham 8, theology lectures in shorthand (1768)
HMCO MS Heineken 6, 'Lectures on Divinity' in shorthand (n.d.)
HMCO MS Orton 1, Job Orton's lecture notes in shorthand (1735-39)

Lectures on preaching

BBC MS G 93, Philip Doddridge's 'Lectures on Preaching', David Jennings's 'The Christian Preacher' and John Lavington's 'Lectures on Preaching', professionally transcribed (1779-81)
DWL MS 24.179.11, notes made by Samuel Palmer, incomplete (n.d.)
DWL MS 28.44, notes made by Samuel Henley in shorthand (1761)
DWL MS 28.124, notes made by Timothy Davis (1801)
DWL MS 69.21, incomplete notes, mostly in shorthand (n.d.)
DWL NCL MS L.28/3, (n.d.)
DWL NCL MS L.28/5, (1780)
DWL NCL MS L.29/20, Lectures on Preaching' and 'John Jennings's lectures on Oratory' in shorthand (n.d.)
DWL NCL MS L.29/22, 'Lectures on the Composition & Delivery of Sermons Prayer y^{e} Administration of y^{e} Sacraments & other Branches of the Ministerial & Pastoral office by P. Doddridge' in shorthand (1744)
DWL NCL MS L.29/23, notes in shorthand (n.d.)
DWL NCL MS L.29/24, notes by J. Stoddon (1779)
HMCO MS Belsham 7, notes in shorthand (1768)
HMCO MS Heineken 10, 'Lectures on Preaching By P. Doddridge D.D.' in shorthand (n.d.)
The Roderic Bowen Library and Archives, University of Wales, Trinity Saint David MS UA/TP/8, 'Lectures on Preaching' (n.d.)

Tutors' notes

DWL NCL MS L.102, Philip Doddridge's notes on Jewish antiquities, in shorthand (n.d.)
DWL NCL MSS L.113/1-2, 'Appendix to John Jennings's Algebra' in Philip Doddridge's hand (n.d)
DWL NCL MS L.114, Philip Doddridge's notes on John Eames's lectures on Anatomy, in shorthand (n.d.)
DWL NCL MS L.171, notes on mathematics and astronomy (1744)
DWL NCL MS L.185, John Jennings's notebook, also owned and used by Philip Doddridge and owned by Thomas Belsham (n.d.)
DWL NCL MS L.227/1, John Jennings's 'Arithmetica' with Philip Doddridge's additions (n.d.)
DWL NCL MSS L.559/1-12, miscellaneous notes by Philip Doddridge, mostly in shorthand (n.d.)

Appendix II

Extracts from Benjamin Sowden's letter to Mercy Doddridge about the French translation of Doddridge's lectures, DWL NCL MS L.1/9/24-25

Rotterdam Thursday April 17 1777

Hon^{d} & Dear Madam

Your Letter after lying about 3 weeks at M^{r} Buckland's, reached me by a Cousin of his, who was going thro' this country to Flanders, & spent a day or two with me on his way

[family greetings and news]

I have procured the French Edition, ~~of~~ or rather translation of D^{r} Doddridge's Lectures, and have sent you a Copy of part of the preface both in French & English, the latter being my own translation, that you may see what the ~~Author~~ ^Translator^ (who was an English Jesuit at Liege) says of the original work, & of his French version. You will find it on the opposite page, & would oblige me much to let M^{r} Orton peruse it. There is a Latin translation of it, by the same writer, if I am rightly informed, but as yet I have not been able to procure it. This French version is in 4 Vol^{s} octavo. printed at Leige ^1768^ and sold not only there but also at Leipsic, in Saxony, during the celebrated annual ~~fare~~ fair there. – I give you joy of your having entered upon housekeeping the fatigues of which will be considerably lessened by your two assistant Daughters, with whom that you may long enjoy every suitable blessing, is the sincere & fervent wish of Dear & Hon^{d} Madam, your Affectionate Friend & ever obliged humble servant –

B Sowden.

[**f. 25**] The following French version, by an Anonymous author, who was formerly a member of the College of English Jesuits at Leige of the Late D^{r} Doddridge's Pneumatological Lectures, is in 4 Vol^{s} 8vo The ~~Preface; giving an Acc^{t}~~ ^Title^ of the work is as follows:

Cours de Lectures, sur les questions les plus importantes de la Métaphysique, de la morale, et de la Théologie, traitées dans la forme Géometrique, avec des Renvois aux Auteurs les plus célebres qui ont écrit sur ces matieres.

Ouvrages Posthume

Du D^{r} Doddridge

Traduit de l'Anglois en Francais
A Liege, et à Leipsick, en faire 1768
Preface de L'Editeur
[French preface to printed *Cours de Lectures* copied out]
here ^following^ their order & the contents of each part, which agrees with the detail of them in the English Edition.
[final paragraph of the French preface copied out]
M^r^ Sowden's Translation of the above
For M^rs^ Doddridge –
This is not a meer Translation of a work composed in English by the celebrated D^r^ Doddridge, in the same Method, & under the same title with this. Tho' the Book of that learned divine forms the basis & groundwork of this, yet I have made so many alterations, retrenchements & additions that it may in many respects be regarded as a new work.

A great Part of the Subjects here contained, being treated too ~~superficially~~ slightly [**f. 25v**] in the English, I have here added all those illustrations & enlargements that were necessary, ~~and~~ ^after^ having extracted them from the best Authors.

The first part is by these means, augmented almost one third: in as much as there is not one Lecture without some addition. The two last parts are almost entirely new. The difference ~~of~~ between my Author & me w^th^ respect to Religion, has not entirely obliged me to make considerable alterations but even to omit many things under this head, & to substitute in their place a Scheme of Doctrine conformable to the Sentiments of the Catholic Apostolick Roman Church, all that is of importance to be known in Logick and Metaphysicks, Morality & Divinity, is to be found in this work which may now ~~be regarded~~ with respect to the Science of Morals & of Religion, be regarded as an Epitomé that ought to be taught in the Schools of Philosophy and Divinity. And, thanks to those lights and aids which I have derived from the writings of the learned, I flatter myself that this work is rendered worthy to be adopted by ~~the~~ Colleges, Universities and Seminaries. ~~It may be judged~~ a judgement may be formed of it in some measure by the detail, in which I now enter.

This Course of Lectures is divided into ten Parts –

Here follows an Acc^{t} of them, after which he closes the preface in the following manner.

This short Account will be sufficient to shew with what care and labour this work has been carried on, in order to render it worthy [of] the reception and approbation of those who preside over the Education of Youth in Colleges, Universities & Seminaries. With respect to the rest, I submit to their superior judgement.

M^{r} Sowden's respectful Compliments, and good wishes, await M^{r} Orton, to whom M^{rs} Doddridge will send the above preface of the Doctor's Lectures in French for his perusal. M^{r} Sowden thinks it a curiosity he would be glad to see & is very happy in this opportunity of Communicating it to him. He would be much obliged to him to remember him cordially & respectfully to M^{r} Fawcet.

Rotterdam Thursday April 17 1777

Appendix III

Invitation to Isaac Watts's funeral

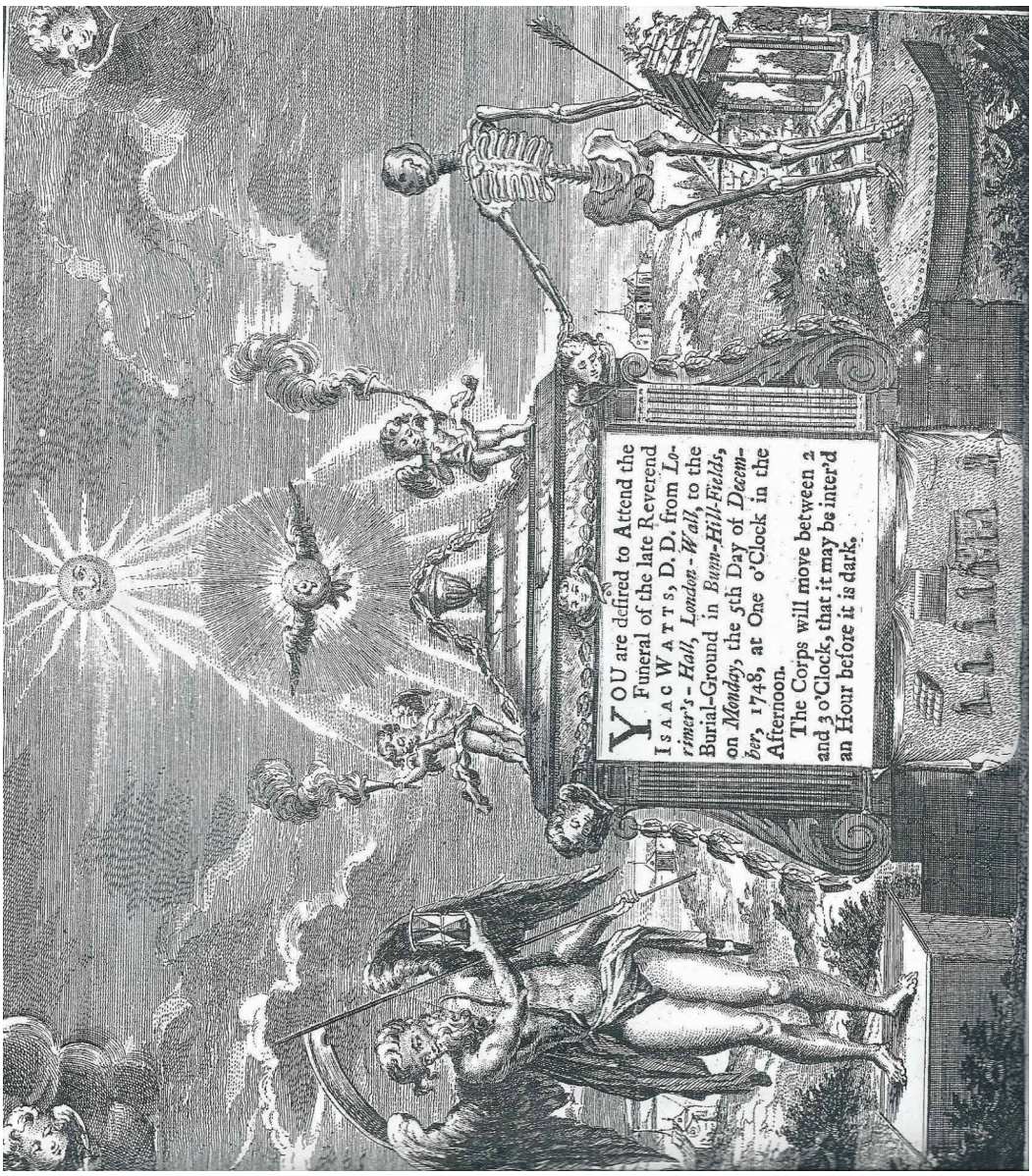

Fig. 1. Invitation to Isaac Watts's funeral, 1748. Illustrator unknown. Letterpress in engraved pictorial compartment. 255 x 220 mm. Reproduced by permission of the British Library.

Bibliography

The bibliography consists of four parts:

I. Manuscripts
II. Pre-1850 printed works
 i. Periodicals
 ii. Books
III. Secondary sources
IV. Electronic resources

All the works cited in this thesis are included.

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British Library
Add. MSS 38728-30, assignments of literary property

Castle Hill United Reformed Church, Northampton
Blackmore MSS, Thomas Blackmore's lecture notes (1761-62)
Doddridge MSS, Doddridge family correspondence
Watson MSS, Thomas Watson's lecture notes in shorthand (1746-47)

Congregational Library, London
MSS I.g.7-11, theology lectures in shorthand (n.d.)
MS II.a.3, Thomas Gibbons's diary (1749-85)

Dr Williams's Library, London
MS 24.179.11, Samuel Palmer's incomplete lecture notes (n.d.)
MSS 28.35-44, Samuel Henley's lecture notes in shorthand (1759-61)
MS 28.117, John Jennings's 'Theologia, pars II' (n.d.)
MS 28.124, Timothy Davis's lecture notes in shorthand (1801)
MS OD68, Presbyterian Fund Board Minutes (1695-1722)
MS 69.21, incomplete copy of 'Lectures on Preaching', mostly in shorthand (n.d.)

Dr Williams's Library, New College Collection
MS NCL CT.1, Coward Trust Minutes (1738-78)
MS NCL L.1/1, Doddridge family correspondence
MS NCL L.1/3, Doddridge family correspondence
MS NCL L.1/4, Doddridge family correspondence
MS NCL L.1/5, Doddridge family correspondence
MS NCL L.1/7, Doddridge family correspondence
MS NCL L.1/6, Doddridge family correspondence
MS NCL L.1/8, Doddridge family correspondence

MS NCL L.1/9, Doddridge family correspondence
MS NCL L.1/10, Doddridge family correspondence
MS NCL L.63, Doddridge family correspondence
MSS NCL L.28/1-2, John Conder's theology lectures (1775-78)
MS NCL L.28/3, 'Lectures on Preaching' (n.d.)
MS NCL L.28/5, 'Lectures on Preaching' (1780)
MSS NCL L.29/6-10, theology lectures in shorthand (n.d.)
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MS NCL L.29/20, Lectures on Preaching' and 'John Jennings's lectures on Oratory' in shorthand (n.d.)
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II. Pre-1850 printed works

i. Periodicals

Critical Review
Evangelical Magazine
General Advertiser and Morning Intelligencer
Gentleman's Magazine
Gospel Magazine
History of the Works of the Learned
London Chronicle
London Evening Post
Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature
Monthly Review
New Annual Register
Protestant Dissenter's Magazine
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